THE NORTHWEST IMPERATIVE

Documenting A Decade Of Hate

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COALITION FOR HUMAN DIGNITY
PORTLAND, OREGON

NORTHWEST COALITION AGAINST MALICIOUS HARASSMENT
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

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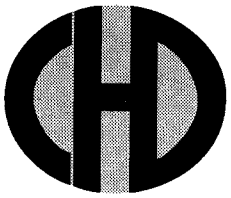

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To the memory of Leopold Trepper, an anti-fascist who fought both hard and smart; and to all the victims of racist, anti-Semitic and homophobic terror.

Contents

TABLE OF

Forward by Bill Wassmuth i.6
Preface: Using This Manual i.7
Acknowledgments i.8
Introduction i.9

Chapter 1 – Neo-Nazis: Klansmen, Skinheads & Violence

Introdution 1.3
Profiles in Hate: 1.10
- American Front 1.10
- Asatru Alliance 1.13
- Church of the Creator 1.15
- Church of Jesus Christ Christian–Aryan Nations 1.16
- Knights of the Ku Klux Klan 1.23
- National Socialist Front/Northwest Concern 1.26
- National Socialist Vanguard 1.28
- National Socialist White People's Party 1.30
- NSDAP-AO 1.31
- Populist Party of Washington State 1.32
- White Aryan Resistance 1.34

Endnotes 1.36

Chapter 2 – Patriots: Tax Protesters, Populists & the New World Order

Introduction 2.3
Profiles in Populism: 2.8
- Association de Libertas 2.8
- Barrister's Inn School of Common Law 2.10
- Martin J. "Red" Beckman 2.11
- Christian Patriot Association 2.13
- Concerned Citizens of Idaho 2.16
- Fully Informed Jury Association 2.18
- Golden Mean Team 2.19
- James "Bo" Gritz–Center for Action 2.21
- Medford Citizens Bar Association 2.28
- National Commodity and Barter Association 2.30
- Pilot Connection 2.33
- Republic v. Democracy Redress 2.36
- State Citizens Service Center 2.38
- Survival Center 2.39

Endnotes 2.41

CONTENTS

Chapter 3 – Identity: Christian Identity —Kingdom of Hate

Introduction	3.3
Northwest History	3.6
Profiles in Identity:	3.8
American Christian Ministries	3.8
America's Promise Ministries	3.11
Christian Israel Covenant Church	3.16
Christ's Gospel Fellowship	3.17
The Jubilee	3.18
Judah's Praise Ministries	3.21
Kingdom Covenant College	3.22
Marble Community Fellowship	3.25
Olympia Christian Fellowship	3.26
Scriptures For America	3.27
Endnotes	3.33

Appendix A – Lexicon

Lexicon and Usage Guide

Foreword

AT LONG LAST, with the publication of *The Northwest Imperative: Documenting a Decade of Hate* we have an in-depth look at white supremacist and right wing extremist organizations and individuals in the Northwest. Those who are working for justice in the region have been waiting for a long time for a tool such as this to aid them in their struggle against bigotry. *The Northwest Imperative: Documenting a Decade of Hate* is a welcome resource.

The information contained in this volume comes from many sources including written and spoken material from white supremacist individuals and groups, media clips, and interviews. What was previously contained in researchers' memories, in paper and computer files, or on thousands of pieces of paper, has now been compiled into a useful format. Those who have been fighting extremist bigotry for years as well as those who are new to the struggle will find this work to be a very helpful tool.

The publication of *The Northwest Imperative* does not imply an intention to restrict the freedom of speech of any individual. However, justice can best be served when the words and actions of those who would deny human rights to some in society are brought into the public arena.

Not everyone in white supremacist groups commits violent acts; but violence frequently springs out of such groups. Moreover, the presence of such groups can intimidate whole communities unless voices for justice and respect are raised to counter words of hate. To ignore hate groups, even though they usually include relatively small numbers of people, is to miscalculate the impact that they can have on a community, and to miss an opportunity to bring a community together to take another step toward justice for all.

The Coalition For Human Dignity and the Northwest Coalition Against Malicious Harassment in producing this document recognize that the roots of bigotry and prejudice lie not in extremist groups but in society generally. Even if all of the individuals and groups identified in this document somehow left the region, racism would still remain. Hate groups are not the root of the problem; rather they are the extreme expression of the problem.

Special thanks to Jonathan Mozzochi, Steven Gardner, Robert Crawford, Randi-Lee Taylor and others at the Coalition for Human Dignity for their comprehensive research and diligent determination to complete this document. It is another example of the high quality work for which CHD is developing a well earned reputation.

Thanks also to the Needmor Fund which contributed toward the publication of this document from its discretionary fund.

Tracking white supremacist and other extreme right groups is an ongoing process. The Northwest Coalition Against Malicious Harassment and the Coalition for Human Dignity welcome comments and additional information which will be incorporated into future updates.

Bill Wassmuth
Northwest Coalition
Against Malicious Harassment

About this Volume

THE NORTHWEST IMPERATIVE IS the product of over three years of research on the white supremacist movement in the Pacific Northwest. It is intended as a comprehensive overview of organized white supremacist and far right activity in the region.

The largest part of the information contained in *The Northwest Imperative* applies to the geographic area of Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Montana. A number of organizations with headquarters outside of the region have extensive operations here and are therefore included.

Each chapter begins with an introductory narrative written to familiarize the reader with some of the key concepts found therein. The bulk of each chapter consists of a series of organizational profiles designed for use by civil rights activists, journalists and others who have occasion to encounter the groups that are detailed.

Throughout the text marginal comments have been added to facilitate information access and understanding. References can be found at the end of each chapter.

Following the introductory section, which gives a brief history and social movement analysis of the white supremacist movement as a whole, the remainder of this work is divided into three sections or chapters.

Chapter One covers neo-Nazi, Ku Klux Klan, Skinhead and anti-Christian white supremacist organizations with operations in the region.

Chapter Two profiles Christian Patriot groups, including a number with headquarters outside our four-state area of focus, but whose activities significantly impact the region.

Chapter Three takes us into the theo-political world of the Christian Identity "churches" that dot the Northwest landscape.

Also included is a lexicon which defines key terms used in the various segments of the contemporary white supremacist movement. Readers unfamiliar with the esoteric jargon of the movement will find this section exceptionally helpful

The Northwest Imperative was produced in this loose-leaf format to allow for additions.

Readers should familiarize themselves with a copy of the acclaimed handbook *When Hate Groups Come To Town: A Handbook of Effective Community Responses*, available from the Center for Democratic Renewal, P.O. Box 50469 Atlanta, GA. 30302. Phone: (404) 221-0025. *When Hate Groups Come To Town* is available for $18.95 and is an indispensable companion volume for devising effective responses to the organizations profiled in this volume.

Acknowledgments

THE AUTHORS WOULD like to thank the following individuals and organizations for their support over the duration of this project.

Leonard Zeskind, who is a superb mentor for many in the CHD network and, in our opinion, the finest anti-fascist researcher in the United States. Without Lenny this project would never have been conceived of or brought to fruition.

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Loretta Ross and the staff of the Center for Democratic Renewal, with whom CHD is affiliated, for their continuing work against hate groups and unflagging support of our projects.

Thanks to civil rights activists Devin Burghart and Lisa Hartrich for helpful fact-checking and editing and to Matt Halperin for the photography and research.

The hundreds of CHD members who have paid their dues and supported us over the past five years also deserve thanks. This document would not have been possible without their support.

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Thanks to our printer, Paragon Printing; and the photo work by the folks at Faststats.

There are also individuals who cannot be named but who must be thanked. In particular our friends in Colville, Washington, and our landlords—you know who you are.

To our families, thank you, though it is sparse return for the food, finances and understanding that was given at crucial junctures. Know that it kept us hanging in.

Of course the ideas and opinions expressed in this work are solely the responsibility of the authors and the Coalition for Human Dignity. Support or assistance from other individuals and organizations should not be interpreted as an endorsement of *The Northwest Imperative* of any part thereof.

The Authors,

R. Crawford
S.L. Gardner
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R.L. Taylor

Portland, Oregon
October 25, 1994

Introduction

"The essence of certain doctrines is to be found in their expression when they have not yet arrived: in the period of formulation, controversy, soap box oratory, and obscure pamphleteering; in the discussions and exegeses of the movements theorists, whose definitions and formulas may be removed from the brutal realities of the political struggle, but are accepted-and honored in the breach if not in the observance."

—Eugen Weber
Varieties of Fascism

Within the white supremacist movement it is called the "Northwest Territorial Imperative," a vision of an Aryan homeland in the Pacific Northwest.[1] Ever since the day in 1978 when Richard Butler nailed up his gaudy "ARYAN NATIONS" sign at the entrance to his compound outside of Hayden Lake, Idaho, residents of the region have been forced to deal with this vision.[2]

Over the years a variety of neo-Nazi and white supremacist organizations, including Aryan Nations, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, the Northwest Concern and the American Front have supported the idea of creating a white homeland in the region. Even as this volume goes to press, Harold Covington, a professional neo-Nazi and General Secretary of the National Socialist White People's Party, has announced that he is relocating to the Northwest. He writes in a recent press release:

> The N.S.W.P.P. has relocated its national headquarters from Raleigh, North Carolina. The N.S.W.P.P. is extremely pleased so far by our reception in Seattle. Our printing facility plans to make available sufficient amounts of National Socialist literature for the youth of Seattle to promote the "Northwest Imperative–5 white states."[3]

Covington is the latest, and perhaps the most dangerous, of the neo-Nazi organizers to move to the Northwest. The question that is inevitably asked is why: Why here? Why now?

The answer is, in part, obvious.

In the first place are the demographics of the region. Even in the relatively cosmopolitan cities of Portland and Seattle the minority population does not exceed 20% of the total population. In the rural areas of the region there are entire counties where racial minorities make up less than 1% of the residents

Kim Badynski, leader of the Northwest Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, has pushed this argument, writing:

> We consider the Northwest Territorial Imperative as the last hope for the White Race within the present political system. In no other region of the United States is the White Race in the demographic majority. For this reason alone, we can politically and economically unite better than anywhere else.[4]

Badynski makes the population argument with

American Front Flyer Produced in the Wake of the Los Angeles uprising.

The Northwest Imperative:

typical neo-Nazi exaggeration, but he is not incorrect in his assessment of the demographics. The Northwest is perhaps the only remaining temperate region in the United States where white people constitute an overwhelming, four-fifths majority.

Another reason for the Northwest Imperative is not so obvious.

The "Imperative" is a political position within the most radical wing of the modern white supremacist movement, represented by neo-Nazis and Klansmen. But the idea of the Northwest Imperative will remain little more than the futile fantasy of the aging Richard Butler *unless a suitable social climate exists or is created in the region.*

A group of Portland-area skinheads, circa 1991.

Neo-Nazis, racist skinheads and klansmen are the sharks of the white supremacist movement. Like sharks they inspire fear for the immediate threat they pose. Like sharks they attract a lot of attention. But like predators of all kinds, they are in the minority.

The hard-core violent wing of the white supremacist movement could not exist without the nurturing waters of the movement as a whole. The movement consists not only of violent and openly racist and anti-Semitic organizations, but of so-called Christian Patriots seeking to restore and re-invent America as a "white, Christian Republic." It includes suburban Christian Identity pastors who teach that God will raise up the true "Tribes of Israel"—i.e. white people in Identity belief—to rule in his Kingdom and makes room for conspiracy theorists who define all of history as a struggle against a demonic elite intent on destroying white civilizations, an elite that is subtly—or not so subtly—identified with Jews. It includes charming, grandmotherly German-American women who deny the Holocaust and urban professionals who espouse neo-Pagan racialism. The modern white supremacist movement consists of all of these strands and more.

This is the water in which neo-Nazi hatred, bigotry and violence is nourished.

This is not to say that the white supremacist movement is monolithic. Even within identifiable segments of the movement there is considerable disagreement on specifics and inevitable competition for leadership positions, resources and membership. Between segments—Christian Patriot and neo-Nazi for example—there can even be open hostility.

Christian Patriots may condemn neo-Nazis for their "pagan, un-American, Hitler worship," but in practical terms, the goals they seek coincide closely enough to make them allies in effect. Even in the act of denunciation this is revealed.

Robert Wangrud, the leader of the Oregon City, Oregon Christian Patriot group Republic v. Democracy Redress, for example, has criticized neo-Nazi organizations, writing:

> In this nation you have what is known as the Aryan Nations who believe that Hitler had the right idea as to the formation of government. The issue of Hitler has been argued back and forth, pro and con. As I see it, Hitler was not all the jews [sic] claim he was, but Hitler is not all the Aryan Nations claim he was either.[5]

The condemnation here is clearly less than

overwhelming. True, Wangrud and other Christian Patriots do not, as a rule, make use of the swastika and other symbolism of the Third Reich. They generally do not favor the highly centralized governments of classical fascism. But they are certainly ready to use the force of law to attack minorities and promote bigoted ideas. For example Wangrud has said:

> We need to begin taking care of our own. People should also take a Christian oath of allegiance before taking any office. That would eliminate the religious cults like Hindus and Jews from taking power....

adding that,

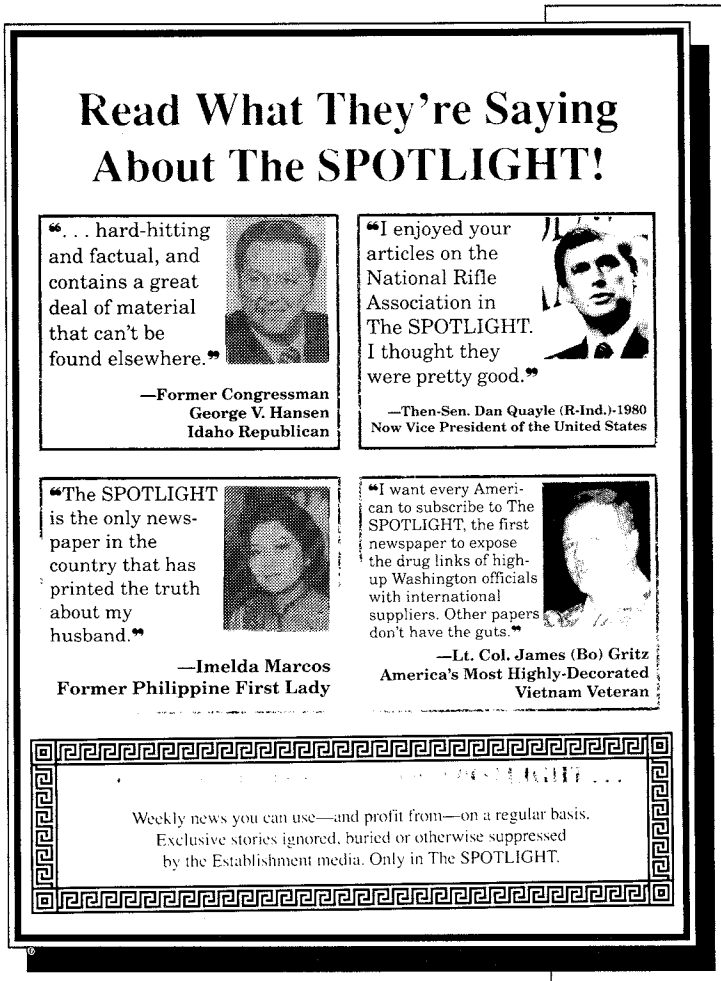
> Blacks really wouldn't care if they lost their rights. I mean look at the L.A. riots. Now can you really say that those people that burned the city down are capable of governing themselves? If the blacks don't like it here they should leave.[6]

These "nurturing" elements, these friendly Christian Patriot and Christian Identity waters, constitute the largest part of the modern white supremacist movement. *And they already exist in relatively large numbers in the Pacific Northwest.* Christian Patriot leader and former presidential candidate James "Bo" Gritz has recognized this, staking his future on the region. Gritz, though little influenced by the idea of the "Northwest Imperative" as formulated by the hard-core neo-Nazi wing of the movement, is nonetheless moving to central Idaho. He and former Arizona police officer Gerald "Jack" McLamb are establishing what they refer to as "Christian Covenant Communities" there, in effect tiny Christian Patriot homelands.

But if the hard-core wing is nourished and sustained by the broader movement, the neo-Nazis and klansmen also give something back. Through public and open acts of violence and racism, they desensitize people to bigotry, making Patriots and Identity believers—not to mention less radical parts of the far right—seem more acceptable by comparison.

Further, the neo-Nazi part of the movement attracts the lion's share of attention from law enforcement and private civil rights organizations, leaving the rest of the movement to organize almost without opposition.

Finally, the hard-core edge of the movement is the most prepared to use violence to achieve its ends. As a strategy, this may ultimately lead to defeat, imprisonment and martyrdom for movement activists, but as a tactic it cannot fail to profoundly effect both individual lives and communities.



The Spotlight An ad for *The Spotlight*, the leading anti-Semitic publication in the country.

Racism and Bigotry in America

The various factions of the white supremacist movement, Neo-Nazi, Christian Patriot and Christian Identity, do not exist in a vacuum. Both the neo-Nazi sharks and the friendly waters of Patriot and Identity belief exist within the ocean that is bigotry in America.

The Northwest Imperative:

Bohica Concepts Catalogue– Racist Book Distributor

No idea has so fascinated, perplexed and motivated Americans as race. In a sense, the very concept of a "white" identity—as distinct from an English, French, German or other linguistic or national identity—was invented by Americans seeking a commonality, a nationality that would, from the very beginning, exclude American Indians, African-Americans, Asian-Americans and other non-whites. Citizenship itself, and the rights thereof, were constitutionally defined as being the privilege of white men.

The legacy of slavery and of often brutal conquest are still with us. The end of legal segregation in the United States is only a generation behind us. The work of the Civil Rights movement remains incomplete even today.

In the context of the racism, anti-Semitism, homophobia and sexism that remain a strong part of American life, effecting virtually every aspect of our society, the white supremacist movement finds room to operate.

Organizations such as those described in this work are often referred to as "Hate Groups," an apt description but not particularly informative. Neo-Nazi, racist skinhead, Christian Patriot, Klan and Christian Identity groups exploit the underlying bigotry in our society for political purposes. They engage the politics of hate and fear, but hate and fear are not their ultimate purpose. These groups are part of a social movement which is trying to transform society, to recreate the United States, or at least a corner of it, in their own image. Though they stand little chance of achieving this goal, their actions continue to have a profound impact on the people and politics of this region and this country.

What impact these groups will continue to have on our lives depends, in no small part, on the response formulated by civil rights activists and others concerned with the livability of our communities. It is our hope that this work will serve as a tool for informing that response.

Introduction

Endnotes

1 There are several versions of the idea, but the earliest and most common, as formulated by Robert Miles and his ally Richard Butler of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian–Aryan Nations, involves the establishment of an independent nation-state composed of the territory now occupied by Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana and Wyoming.

2 Kevin Flynn and Gary Gerhardt, *The Silent Brotherhood: Inside America's Racist Underground* (New York & London: Free Press, 1989), p.55.

3 Harold Covington, "Press Release: Commander Harold Covington is pleased to announce the opening of the Seattle office of the National Socialist White People's Party," (Seattle, Washington: National Socialist White People's Party, undated (circa October 1994).

4 Kim Badynski, *Klan Kourage* (undated [circa 1989]), p.1.

5 Robert Wangrud, *BEHOLD!* March 1987, p.9.

6 *Clackamas County Review*, May 28 – June 3, 1992.

Chapter 1

Neo-Nazis

Klansmen, Skinheads & Violence

1 NEO-NAZI

Introduction	1.3
Profiles in Hate:	1.10
American Front	1.10
Asatru Alliance	1.13
Church of the Creator	1.15
Church of Jesus Christ Christian–Aryan Nations	1.16
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	1.23
National Socialist Front/Northwest Concern	1.26
National Socialist Vanguard	1.28
National Socialist White People's Party	1.30
NSDAP-AO	1.31
Populist Party of Washington State	1.32
White Aryan Resistance	1.34
Endnotes	1.36

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Neo-Nazis: Klansmen, Skinheads and Violence

Neo-Nazi
Ku Klux Klan
Skinhead

Like most college campuses, the University of Portland has a policy of renting space to off-campus organizations. In early September 1994, the Campus Events office received a request from a charming, grandmotherly German-American woman by the name of Margit Becker.

Would it be possible, Mrs. Becker wanted to know, *to secure the use of an auditorium?*

Reasonably enough, the Events office asked her what she wanted the auditorium for.

Why, to hold a speaking engagement sponsored by the Northwest Historical Society, she explained.

Having never heard of this fledgling organization, the campus officials prudently asked who would be speaking.

David Irving, the British historian! replied Mrs. Becker, who's husband, it turns out, is a business professor at the school. *Oh, you may have heard nasty things about Mr. Irving, conjured up by hooligans, but he's actually a very nice man. A Christian, you know,* she added.

The University of Portland said no. No to hate. No to David Irving. No to Holocaust denial.

The University is an historically Catholic institution and has a memory for prejudice and discrimination. In the 1920s, Catholics in Oregon were the targets of fierce prejudice by the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan elected mayors and city council members, state legislators and even the governor. The University of Portland Press commissioned *Forces of Prejudice: The Ku Klux Klan in Oregon 1920-1925* which details that shameful history.[1]

The University of Portland was lucky. They were familiar with David Irving, perhaps the most notorious Holocaust denier in the world, and were not interested in providing space to any organization hosting him. A Presbyterian church in Southeast Portland was not so lucky.

Holocaust Denial

David Irving Portland 1994

Rejected by the University of Portland, Mrs. Becker decided to try a venue closer to home. She walked just a few blocks to the Colonial Heights Presbyterian Church. Not knowing who David Irving was—or who was helping Mrs. Becker plan the event—the Church's governing body approved a lecture on "current affairs" by an "historian," sponsored by the innocuous sounding "Pacific Northwest Historical Society."

October 10, 1994, the evening of the event, church members were appalled to discover they had unwittingly agreed to host an icon of the international neo-Nazi movement. The church was also inadvertently host to some fifteen racist skinheads providing security for the event. More than 200 protesters were also on hand to raise their voices against the efforts of Irving and his cohorts to deny the Holocaust.

Holocaust Denial
Called by the euphemism "Revisionism" by Nazis, Holocaust Denial is the intellectual foundation of the modern neo-Nazi movement.

David Irving, the featured speaker, is a practitioner of Holocaust denial. Shelly Shapiro, director of the New York-based Holocaust Survivors and Friends in Pursuit of Justice, has written:

> The use of the cover of historical analysis, "revisionism" (a change in interpretation of a long standing view of history) is a ruse for anti-Semitic deniers of the Holocaust to gain a platform for their neo-Nazi views. In anti-Semitic doublespeak, denial of the Holocaust is benignly labeled "revisionist" while irrefutable historical

Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s

The Northwest Imperative:

Northwest Concern

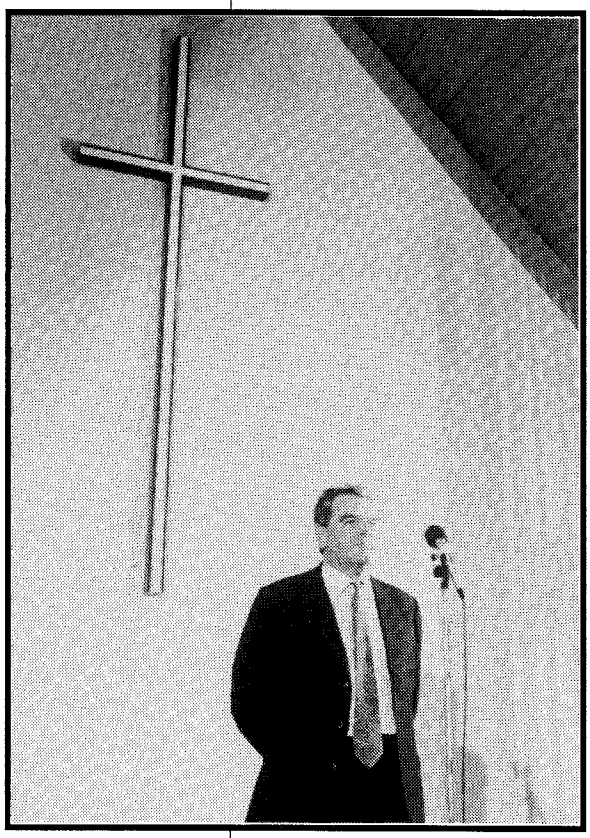
fact is poisonously termed "exterminationist." The goals of Holocaust denial include cleansing of Nazi German history, the promotion of the Nazi ideology of racism and anti-Semitism and support of white supremacy.[2]

Aiding Mrs. Becker in organizing the Irving event, was a shadowy neo-Nazi organization called the Northwest Concern.

The Jewish Conspiracy

Anti-Jewish Scapegoating and Conspiracy Theories

The existence of a massive Jewish conspiracy to destroy the "white race" is an unquestioned premise of the world view of Klansmen, neo-Nazis and anti-Christian racists. The very purpose of neo-Nazis is to defeat and destroy the participants in this conspiracy, and in this way bring about a world more to their liking.



Rehabilitating the Third Reich

Within Klan and neo-Nazi organizations, Jews are seen as a "racial" enemy, a repository of alien blood and culture infecting the body of white "Aryan" America. This kind of anti-Semitism predates the German Nazi movement of the first half of this century, although it reached the height of its expression in the gas chambers and crematoria of the Third Reich.

In a process of scapegoating that has been developed over the centuries, Jews are accused of having undo wealth and power, of spreading disease, of corrupting the young, and of committing ritual murders. In neo-Nazi minds, Jews control the media, movies, the music industry; they control banking and the money supply; they manipulate other minorities—African Americans and gays and lesbians for example—to attack whites. They encourage and facilitate the abortion of white children and interracial marriage. Jews, in short, are the deadly enemy of the white race.

After the Second World War, when the full extent of the Nazi Holocaust against the Jews began to be revealed to the public, there was a backlash against the most vulgar kinds of anti-Semitism and racism. This helped to propel civil rights efforts and changing attitudes. The time was not then ripe for those who would revive the Nazi movement.

Times have changed.

Holocaust deniers like David Irving are the intellectual elite of modern neo-Nazism. Their purpose is, simply put, to make it acceptable to be a Nazi. By casting doubt on the Holocaust, the deniers open the possibility of rehabilitating Hitler's Third Reich and they lend credibility to those who would revive its practices.

According to the deniers and the neo-Nazi leaders who benefit from their efforts, both Jewish and non-Jewish interests deliberately exploit the memory of the Holocaust (often referred to as the "holohoax" in movement literature), to ensure the continuation of a collective feeling of guilt among whites. This guilt is understood to be a powerful narcotic preventing the masses of white people from becoming attracted to "racial nationalism" and rebelling against their "alien" masters.

The attempt to deny the enduring historical fact of the Holocaust is a crucially important movement goal shared by neo-fascist leaders throughout Europe, the United States and Canada. There is wide agreement amongst white supremacist leaders on this issue; a mass base of support for neo-fascist ideas is impossible to forge if the legacy of fascism and neo-Nazism is linked, as it rightly should be, with industrial scale genocide. Hence all facets of this movement embrace the effort to de-emphasize, revise and ultimately obliterate the historical fact of the Holocaust.

Documenting a Decade of Hate

Racial Purity

Hard-core neo-Nazi and Klan activists hold the concept of "race" to be *the* determining factor governing an individual's aptitude, behavior, intelligence and ultimately, his or her value. Race is thus considered to be the determining factor in the eventual course a civilization will take: a society will rise in splendor or fall in disgrace largely according to its racial composition and how "racially aware" a people are. Race is believed to determine the fate of entire peoples, taking on a metaphysical character, described as a "life-force" that depends upon the geographical and cultural isolation of a "people" to maintain their "purity." The neo-Nazi Church of the Creator, for example, elevates race to a religious concept: the motto of the organization is RAHOWA! or "Racial Holy War" with the subtitle "This Planet is All Ours."

For organizations such as this, the "purity" of the "white race" is counterposed to the "mixing" of races which is equated with "genetic suicide" for whites. For more "spiritually" minded white supremacists, such as the Church of Jesus Christ Christian–Aryan Nations, "race mixing" is an abomination, a destroyer of the spiritual health of a people. Those whites who engage in miscegenation become "race traitors," a crime deserving of the death penalty.

The idea of race and the reality of racism have dominated American society since its origins. Slavery. Genocide. Eugenics. Segregation. Lynching. These are parts of our history, as American as apple pie. White supremacists in the United States turn these ideas upside down; they play on our fear and on our own bigotry to recruit and convince and influence. They do *explicitly*, what is so often done implicitly in our society—they turn racism into a political force.

Different movement theorists have their own particular idiosyncratic interpretations of these concepts, the overall pattern of which blends and contrasts with other facets of the white supremacist movement. Notions of "sovereign citizenship" and constitutional literalism put forward by Christian Patriots and the "seed line" ideas developed by Christian Identity believers contrast with the straightforward racism and anti-Semitism of the neo-Nazi wing of the movement.

Spokane Spokesman-Review

Racist Skinheads

Unlike other segments of the white supremacist movement, skinhead groups have a relatively short history, having only arrived in the United States approximately ten years ago. Their addition to the ranks of professional hate groups was not, however, a foregone conclusion when they first emerged in the mid-1980s.

There was a debate among older neo-Nazis about how to handle their militant juniors. One leader, arguing for the inclusion of skin-

Racial Purity

Biological Determinism

Racial Holy War

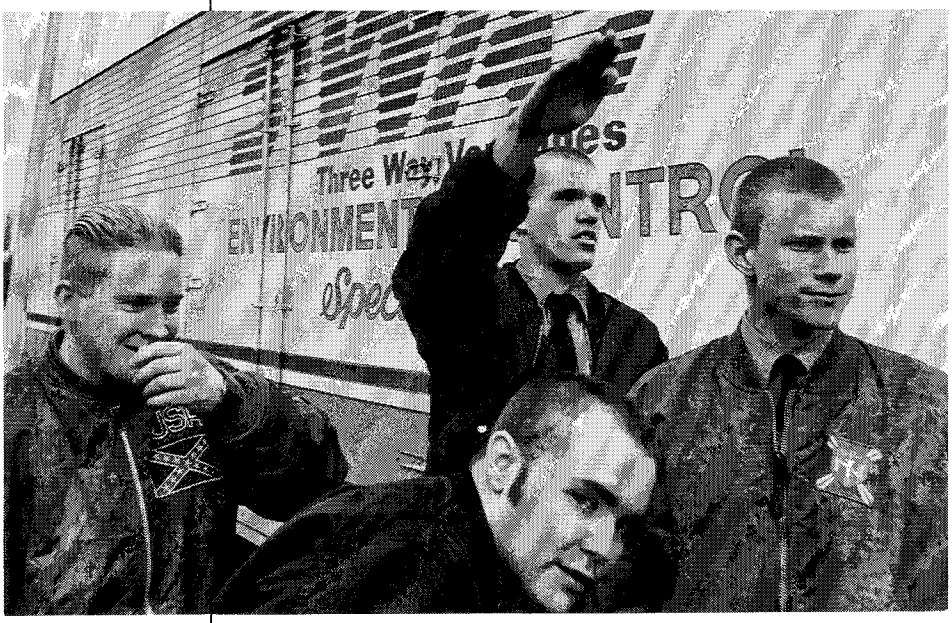
Neo-Nazis cf. Christian Patriots and Christian Identity

Older Neo-Nazis and Skinheads

Rick E. Cooper on the Skinhead Movement

heads in the movement, assessed the situation as follows:

> Something that we should understand is that among the White racist youth in the large metropolitan areas, the skinheads provide the leadership for the other groups, so to speak, as they are the most dedicated and toughest. Although some Movement activists would not want to socialize on a personal level with the skins, we must also understand that these youth are willing to stick their necks out, get their hands dirty and attract media attention to problems that all White people face.[3]



Skinhead Dress Code

In short, the skinhead style was perceived as bewildering and dangerous to many old-line white supremacist activists. Some, however, realized that the movement needed the young shaven-headed upstarts if it was ever going to escape the image of rural-based, tobacco-chewing bigots out of step with the 1990s. Skinheads were the perfect vehicle to help the movement project a militant young urban character.

Skinheads and Tabloid TV

Skins have attracted media attention. Lots of media attention. Racist skinheads broke through the "glass ceiling" of the syndicated talk-show circuit with controversial and sometimes violent appearances on Oprah Windfrey, Sally Jessie Raphael, Montell Williams and others. On November 4, 1988 a former leftist-turned follower of neo-Nazi Tom Metzger broke the nose of Geraldo Rivera with a chair on national television. The result was

> a Boston Tea Party for the skinheads, and a startlingly complex and elegant media symbol.... More than the stories in *Time*, *Newsweek* and the daily newspapers, more than their appearances on *People are Talking* and *Oprah Windfrey*, the Geraldo show made "skinhead" a household word.[4]

Skinhead Style & History

As much as the violence associated with skinheads, what made older white supremacists suspicious of their younger, bald-headed brethren was the skinhead style—a shaven head for men, a short, stylized haircut with bangs for women, the trademark Doc Marten boots, suspenders, Fred Perry shirts and jeans—an image that deliberately communicates toughness, rebellion and violence. In fact, the dress and style preferred by skinheads is an exaggeration of male working class identity, a deliberate caricature intended to offend "Yuppies" and others in the upper-income strata of the population.

The aggressive male attitude that dominates the skinhead scene has been commented on by *Searchlight*, the British anti-fascist monthly in their appraisal of skinheads in Britain:

> The skinhead cult rejoiced in machismo, and while they were not the first or only section of society to be involved with "queer bashing" (attacks on homosexuals), it became (and continues to remain) strongly associated with them. "Queer bashing" did not mean attacks on just gays but on anyone who looked slightly different or out of step with the skinheads' view of what to them was acceptable male appearance.[5]

Documenting a Decade of Hate

The first skinheads emerged from the burgeoning youth subcultures of post WWII England in the early 1960s. Like hippies or punks, skinheads developed their own original style of dress, music and activities. These early skinheads were multi-racial—Black, white, West-Indian, etc.—and opposed the growing neo-fascist political parties then emerging in England. The music they most often shared was Ska, which celebrated the two primary influences that shaped the early English skinhead subculture: white working class youth and second generation West Indian or Black youth. Ska was a musical form that was a precursor to reggae and the preferred music of skinheads in England as it is today among anti-racist skinheads.

The back-drop to the emergence of neo-fascist skinheads in England is important, and similar to that which concerns us in the United States. As pointed out by Eric Anderson, in his seminal thesis on the subject, "Skinheads: From Britain to San Francisco Via Punk Rock,"

> It is impossible to extricate the re-emergence of the skinhead subculture, and the changes within it, from the heightened recession and unemployment that began in Britain in the mid 1970s. Given the circumstances, it is not surprising that many youths turned to an already established skinhead subculture and its associated conservative working-class values (including scapegoating) to explain and to cope with their lot.[6]

Out of this situation, a stylistic tendency arose within the broader youth subcultures of England that gave birth to the development of "Oi" as the music of choice for many young whites.[7] Soon "Oi" music would command "a national reputation for being a music for the violent and racist, if not the music of violence and racism."[8]

While not all early Oi bands were racist, and efforts of outreach were made to multi-racial musical bands in 1970s England, "...Oi concerts remained arenas of violence (mostly among skins themselves) and among the most fertile of the neo-nazi/fascist recruiting grounds."[9]

Skinheads first began to be noticed in the United States during 1984-1985. Since 1987 skinheads in the United States have been successfully recruited by professional neo-Nazis.

In 1994, after a decade-long presence in America, and five years of near constant television talk show appearances, there are few skinheads that are removed from politics of one sort or another. Skinheads from a variety of backgrounds participate in different political projects. In the case of racists, the white supremacist movement serves as the logical vehicle for their political expression, while anti-racist skinheads often participate in grassroots progressive causes such as gay and lesbian rights, environmental protest and pro-choice activism.

In the United States and Canada, as elsewhere in Europe, racist skinhead organizations play a transitional role for young, racist whites who often move into more professional white supremacist organizations as they enter their late twenties. They are referred to as the next generation of political leadership—or "political soldiers"—of the white supremacist movement. A number of prominent skinheads are making this transition. For example, Shawn Slater, a former racist skinhead, directed the Colorado chapter of Thom Robb's Knights of the Ku Klux Klan until a recent split found him aligned with a new Klan effort.

An important feature of skinhead groups common to all youth subcultures is that they are organized by young people themselves. Traditional white supremacist organizations such as the Klan may appeal to a young persons sense of raw hatred yet appear out of step with the 1990s. With the recent development of a professional racist music company, Resistance Records, the stage has been set for neo-Nazi skinheads to expand their subcultural influence beyond the arenas they have been confined to thus far.

The Ku Klux Klan

The Ku Klux Klan is the oldest domestic terrorist organization in the United States. Formed in Tennessee in the wake of the Civil War as a means to brutally suppress Blacks who had recently won their emancipation, the Klan has passed through several different per-

Skinheads from Britian

Skinheads As Next Generation

Shawn Slater
Skinheads can grow up to be Klansmen.

Youth Subcultures

Ku Klux Klan

History of the Klan

Nazification of the Klan in the 1970s

In the Northwest there is only one significant Klan organization, The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan based in Tacoma, Washington.

Anti-Christian Tendencies

Neo-Nazis

Hilterism
Strasserism

mutations over the past 100 years.

The Klan of the 1920s portrayed itself as a fraternal organization and managed to command some 3-5 million members, with influence reaching into the highest offices in the country.

In the 1950s and 1960s members of various Klan organizations murdered hundreds of African-Americans throughout the South in their futile fight against the Civil Rights movement.

During the 1970s many Klan organizations began to openly cooperate with neo-Nazi groups which had previously been considered to be "un-American" because of their promotion of a "foreign ideology." That changed, however, with the "Nazification of the Klan" that occurred in the late 1970s and continued into the 1990s. Today, most existing Klan organizations have adopted some element of neo-Nazism into their ideological training and they work closely with national socialist (Nazi) groups.

There is no single "Ku Klux Klan" organization that dominates the American scene; rather there are dozens scattered across the United States, each competing with one another for membership and stature within the broader white supremacist movement. In the Pacific Northwest there is only one relatively strong Klan organization, the Northwest Knights of the Ku Klux Klan based in Tacoma, Washington.

Neo-Nazis

Neo-Nazi organizations either trace their ideology and politics directly to the German Nazi party of the 1920s, '30s and '40s, or hold positions indistinguishable from those of the Nazis. There are two major strands of neo-Nazism active in the United States: "Hitlerite" and "Third Positionist."

The Hitlerite or classical Nazi position, best represented in the United States by the Lincoln, Nebraska-based NSDAP–AO (National Socialist German Workers Party–Overseas Organization), celebrates Hitler and the politics and practices of the Third Reich. Classical Nazis are usually Germanophiles with strong links to resurgent neo-Nazi and neo-fascist organizations in Europe.

A second strand of Nazism, known as "Strasserism" or the "Third Position," takes the "Socialist" in "National Socialist" more seriously, seeking a "white working class" revolution against elite Jewish interests. White Aryan Resistance leader Tom Metzger is probably the best known advocate of Third Position Nazism, although it is also popular with several racist skinhead factions, including the Portland, Oregon-based American Front.

The single factor which most distinguishes neo-Nazi from other white supremacist organizations is that they are consistently and unequivocally revolutionary. Other factions of the movement are more than willing to embrace the idea of a violent racist revolution, but the neo-Nazi groups always seem to be either on the brink of organizing violence, or in the midst of it.

Anti-Christian White Supremacists

The white supremacist movement is well known for anti-Semitism and racism, but what is less well known is that several factions of the movement are also anti-Christian. Anti-Christian attitudes were part of Nazi ideology in the Third Reich. Although the Nazi state cooperated with the established Christian churches where it could, Christianity was always suspect, viewed as a weak and Jewish influenced religion not fit for Aryan warriors.

Some aspects of the white supremacist movement, Christian Identity for example, solve this little problem by separating "true" Christianity from "Judeo-Christianity" as practiced by mainline and fundamentalist churches. For others, the Church of the Creator, for example, Christianity is yet another aspect of the Jewish plot to weaken

Documenting a Decade of Hate

and destroy the white race. In fact, among hard-core movement activists, Christianity of any kind is rarely more than tolerated. Even at Aryan Nations, ostensibly a Christian Identity organization, a swastika burning has replaced the traditional cross burning at the annual Aryan Youth Action Conferences, held on the weekend nearest Hitler's birthday.

A Legacy of Violence

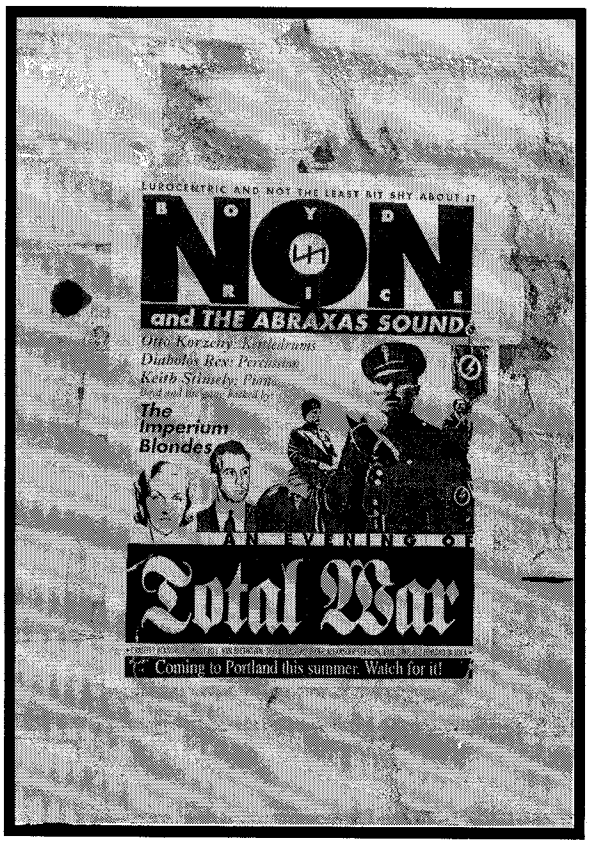
It was the early 1980s. Ronald Reagan was President. His speech writer Peggy Noonan assured us that it was "morning in America." From the fertile soil of the Pacific Northwest, the Order was born.

Frustrated with endless talk about a race war, Order founder Robert Mathews decided it was time to begin the fight. With a close group of neo-Nazi and Christian Identity associates, Mathews launched a wave of terror across the West. The Order: an underground cell structure recruited from the most militant of the neo-Nazi and white supremacist groups. The result: bank robberies and counterfeiting to finance the struggle; anti-Semitic murder to energize the movement and destroy the hated Jewish enemy.

On December 8, 1984, six months after the murder of Denver talk show host Alan Berg, it was over. An FBI SWAT team surrounded Mathew's retreat on Whidbey Island, Washington. After a lengthy fire-fight, his refuge was burned to the ground and Matthews joined Gordon Kahl as a movement martyr, fulfilling his own myth.[10]

The Northwest has experienced successive waves of organized bigotry ever since the 1984 death of Robert Mathews and capture and trial of the members of the Order. By far the most spectacular and successful terrorist group to ever emerge from the Pacific Northwest, the myth of the Order is a powerful part of the ideology of Northwest neo-Nazis, Klan and Skinhead groups.

With the exception of the Populist Party of Washington State—a political party led by Klansmen and neo-Nazi sympathizers but with a message aimed at the mainstream—the organizations profiled in this section are generally open about their race hatred, anti-Semitism and defiance of state authority. Whether they are followers of the neo-pagan religion of Asatru, "squires" in the KKK, skinheads, or movement ideologues who peddle the works of obscure neo-fascists, they agree with one another on key issues.



A poster for the cultural-fascist music group NON advertising a concert to be held in Portland, Oregon, Summer 1992. The concert never actually took place.

The Order
Bob Mathews joined Gordon Kahl as a movement martyr.

The Northwest Imperative

Populist Party of Washington

When Fascism Is "Hip."
Cultural Facist Boyd Rice and Portland area Nazi sympathizers Rex Church and Keith Stimely Promote "Eurocentric music."

Profiles of Selected Northwest Hate Groups

Profiles in Hate

The profiles which follow are a detailed treatment of neo-Nazi, Ku Klux Klan and Skinhead organizations active in the Pacific Northwest. There is a degree of redundancy between profiles since each is designed to stand alone as a self-contained exposé. Backed-up by extensive documentation, they are intended to be used by activists facing organized hate group activity.

American Front

American Front

The American Front began in the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco.

Bob Heick

White Worker's Day

Aryan Woodstock
An attempt to launch a racist music culture.

The American Front neo-Nazi skinhead organization was formed by Robert Heick, the son of liberal parents, in 1985. It originally consisted of a small group of racist skinheads active in the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco. Among the group's early activities were an attack on a left-wing bookstore and the organizing of annual "White Worker's Day" marches on or near May Day. The marches were part of the group's attempt to reclaim the International Day of the Worker (May Day) from its left-wing roots, and establish a white supremacist version of the event.

The White Worker's Day march, which drew 50 young racists in 1988, pre-shadowed a more inventive and provocative event organized by Heick in 1989, the so-called "Aryan Woodstock" held just north of San Francisco in Napa County, California. The event was billed as an attempt to launch a racist musical culture and was scheduled to feature a number of skinhead bands. A massive community protest halved the potential attendees from 200 to less than 100. Prominent neo-Nazi activists were involved in setting up the event, including Tom and John Metzger of the Southern California-based White Aryan Resistance and Bill Albers, a Klan organizer from Northern California who had taken an interest in recruiting racist skinheads.

In early 1990, following a "White Worker's Day" rally held in downtown San Francisco that was attacked by anti-racist protesters, Heick relocated the national headquarters of his organization to Portland, Oregon, a city which by that time had gained a national reputation as "Skin City" due to the proliferation of skinhead groups there and the high-profile skinhead murder of Ethiopian student Mulugeta Seraw in 1988.

One of the early activities staged by the group in Portland was a protest held by approximately 15 skinheads outside the Feminist Women's Health Center. American Front members distributed literature denouncing abortion as a Jewish conspiracy to kill white babies.

The American Front was also one of the early skinhead groups to develop leadership among women. Elisabeth Bullis, like Heick a San Francisco transplant, came into a leadership role within the movement herself and was soon recognized as "National Secretary" by

Documenting a Decade of Hate

Heick. In 1992 Bullis, the daughter of a wealthy San Francisco family, was featured in a front-page story in the *Village Voice* (April 28, 1992) entitled "Long Day's Journey Into White," by Kathy Dobie. The article ended up being a puff piece for Bullis and the American Front, and contributed to a growing sense of "skin chic" that the organization was attempting to tap into and exploit.

While the American Front conforms in most respects to a typical racist skinhead organization, Robert Heick's mentors such as Tom Metzger and Rick Cooper have infused a heavy dose of idiosyncratic European fascist tendencies into his thinking. For example, in a flyer distributed by the American Front in 1991, the organization advocates neither a "right wing" nor a "left wing" political stance, but rather a "Third Position: revolutionary racial nationalism." As part of this third position the organization advocates an environmentalist alternative to "consumer capitalism" and "industrial communism." Animal rights, (white) women's rights, and other political positions traditionally associated with the left are grafted onto racist, anti-Semitic and homophobic positions to round out these "radical" neo-Nazis.

Within white supremacist circles the American Front is often regarded as a group that promotes a left-wing variant of Nazism. They are therefore distrusted by more traditionally Hitlerite or Klan oriented groups that are wary of anything that appears to be associated with the political left.

Although American Front members such as Elisabeth Bullis have at one time been close to the Aryan Nations faction of the movement based in Idaho, Richard Butler and other Identity adherents have criticized Heick's "Third Position" racial nationalism.

Heick has also had close relations with counter-cultural figures widely regarded to be Satanists by his colleagues, such as Boyd Rice, a Colorado-based neo-fascist musician and the late Keith Stimely, a self-styled historian who worked in the more conservative neo-Nazi circle of Willis Carto.[11] For their part the American Front attacks white elites for their support of third world immigrant labor at the expense of the white working class. AF has also written that through

> their eternal quest for the almighty dollar, the elite corporatists of the right are destroying our environment. They call themselves patriotic, but anyone who loves their country would not destroy it with pollution and rape its oceans and forests in the name of profit.[12]

Elisabeth Bullis has regularly attended annual conferences of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian–Aryan Nations. According to eyewitness reports, she was married to Aryan Nations activist Justin Dwyer at the 1994 Aryan Youth Action Conference.

The American Front typically recruits through literature drops carried out by members in the dead of night. Neo-Nazi propaganda is placed on the windshields of vehicles and on doorsteps with a contact number for the interested. The chapter in Portland, Oregon has approximately 12 active members. Other American Front skinhead chapters have been active in Sacramento and Arcata, California, New York, Florida, and Seattle, Washington.

A chapter of the American Front in Albany, Oregon made headlines in May through September 1992 during a series of highly pub-

American Front
"Third Position"

Elisabeth Bullis
One of the first female racist skinhead leaders to break the neo-Nazi gender barrier.

Rick Cooper
He cultivates young racist skinhead leaders for professional neo-Nazi organizations.

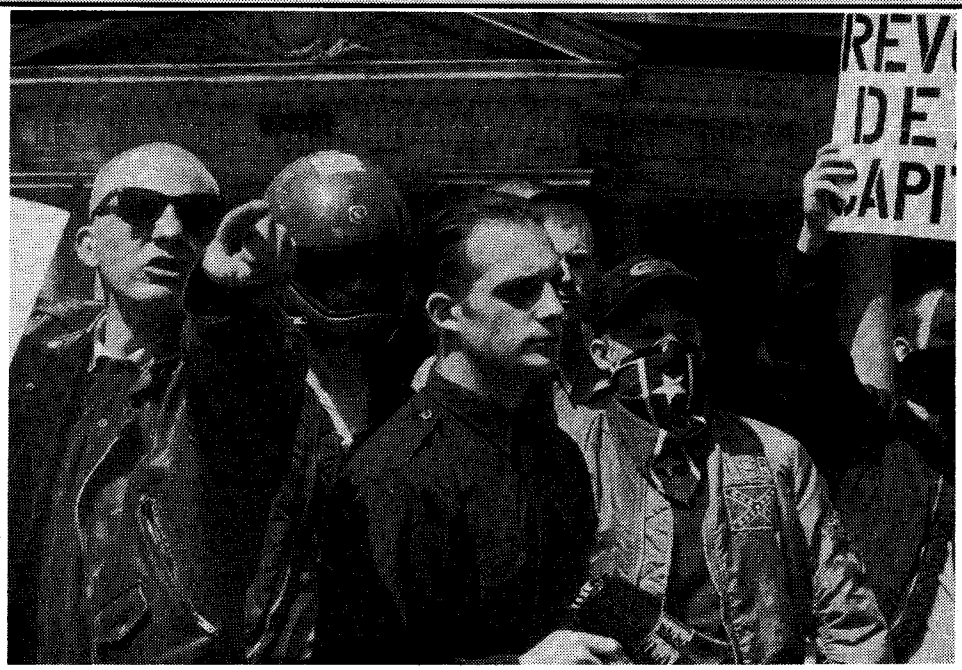
Aryan Nations

Justin Dwyer & Elisabeth Bullis Were Married During a Swastika Burning.

Albany, Oregon

American Front (Cont.)

American Front National Chair Robert Heick



American Front National Chairman Robert Heick at the 1991 White Worker's Day Rally in Portland, Oregon.

Albany, Oregon "Friction does not have to be racism."

lic organizing efforts. The stage for these efforts was set by a series of racist incidents at the local high school and the lack of public response to these incidents. The Albany *Democrat-Herald* set the tone with an editorial commenting on the harassment of a young African-American. "Friction does not have to be racism," the paper explained. Although the 14 year-old African-American student had been "bullied," the paper stated that, "It is apparent... that in general people today are sometimes a little quick to claim racism when there's trouble of any sort."[13]

The Police Chief of Albany, Oregon Thought the American Front targeted Albany because of racial problems at a local high school.

William Jason Mowdy, who headed up the Albany Chapter of the American Front, had previously been charged with a misdemeanor (fourth degree assault) for spraying tear gas into the face of 16 year-old as well as instigating conflicts with a Latino youth group.[14] In mid June 1992 nearby Sweet Home junior and senior high school students were targeted for a mass mailing of neo-Nazi literature. The mailing effort turned out to be a joint venture between the American Front and National Socialist Vanguard leader Rick Cooper. Cooper helped the American Front secure the addresses of students in the area, and the American Front did the labor on the mailings.[15]

Rick E. Cooper National Socialist Vanguard

Literature distributed to students read in part,

> When they spot your white skin and drag you kicking and screaming from your vehicle, pummeling and whacking and kicking and stomping without letup, try to stop writhing for a moment and be sure to tell them how much you've always deplored the evil racist history of your own people.... When they chase you across the intersection and down the alley, hooting and howling in bloodlust, hacking and Mau-Mauing with their machetes, gaining on you fast, turn around and be sure to tell them that it's a terrible mistake: you are white but you've always been a dedicated activist against Euro-centrism and, hey, you've never really respected your own culture at all.[16]

The Chief of Police for Albany stated that he believed the American Front targeted the city because of racial problems then underway at Sweet Home High School.[17]

The situation worsened when the American Front announced a rally to be held on the steps of the Linn County Courthouse on September 3, 1992 in the city of Albany. In the face of strong counter-organizing the event was canceled when the Front realized that too many of their supporters would be in Idaho at the Weaver siege to make a respectable showing.

Documenting a Decade of Hate

Asatru Alliance

Asatru Alliance

On the weekend of July 10, 1993 approximately 350 people attended a "Viking Days" event in Vancouver, Washington organized by a young man by the name of Michael Clinton.

Clinton is a Baltimore, Maryland transplant who arranged the visit of British Holocaust denier David Irving to Gresham, Oregon in October 1992 and was present for Irving's October 1994 visit to Portland as well. Clinton—who was admitted to the Oregon State Bar in September 1993 and is a practicing attorney in Portland—was stopped by Lake Oswego police shortly before the 1992 Irving event in the company of Oregon's top neo-Nazi skinhead organizer, American Front national chairman, Robert Heick, and his Salem "Unit Commander" Tom Johnson. The trio were apparently distributing Holocaust denial literature.[18]

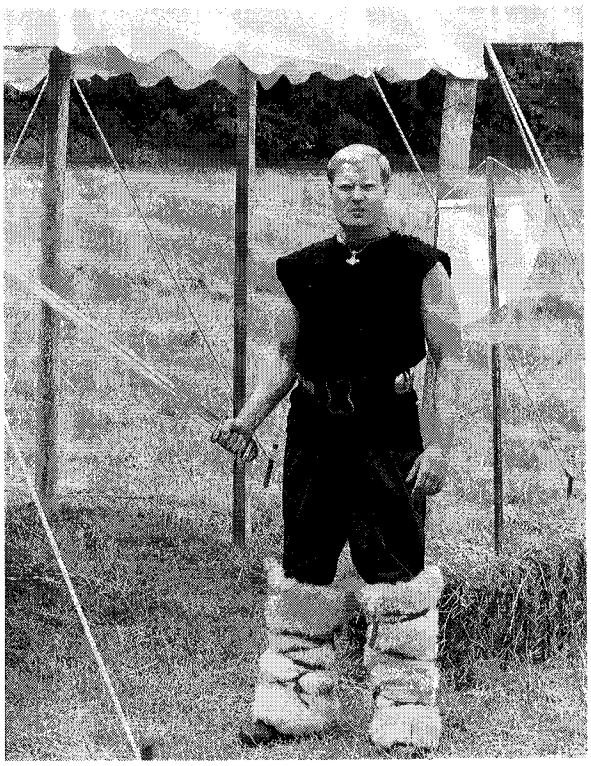
The two-day "Viking" festival, held at Whipple Creek Park in Vancouver, Washington was promoted as an ethnic and cultural family event. However the attendance of numerous racist skinheads, the open distribution of white supremacist literature by vendors in a Viking "Religion and Philosophy" tent and the placement of advertisements in the *Spotlight*, the largest anti-Semitic weekly in the country, is indicative of the real nature of the gathering.

The festival reflected the growing influence of an Odinist organization, the Asatru Alliance, on far right organizing in the Northwest. The organization's journal, *Vor Tru* (Our Faith) describes the Asatru Alliance as follows:

> The Asatru Alliance is a free association of independent kindreds who practice the ancient, but ever new religion known as Asatru. Asatru is the native/organic religion of the peoples of Northern Europe prior to the Christian domination of Europe....
>
> Member kindreds support a code of laws which we feel are necessary to preserve and protect Asatru from those who would dilute, subvert, or in any way harm our religion or community.[19]

Asatru Kindreds in the Northwest

The organization prints a list of "kindreds" that are official and "formational" units of the Alliance. The pacific Northwest is home to the Eagle Kindred, located in Eagle, Idaho; the Midgard Kindred of Washington in Lacy, Washington; the Westerlund Kindred in Sumas, Washington; Wotan's Kindred in Nanaimo, British Columbia, and Wodan's Kindred in Sandy, Oregon.[20] The Viking Days festivities were the first time a kindred had held an event that deliberately sought to reach out to the broader community. A 1993 edition of the organization's newsletter reprints a photo of Michael Clinton together with the editor of *Vor Tru* who was present for the event.[21]

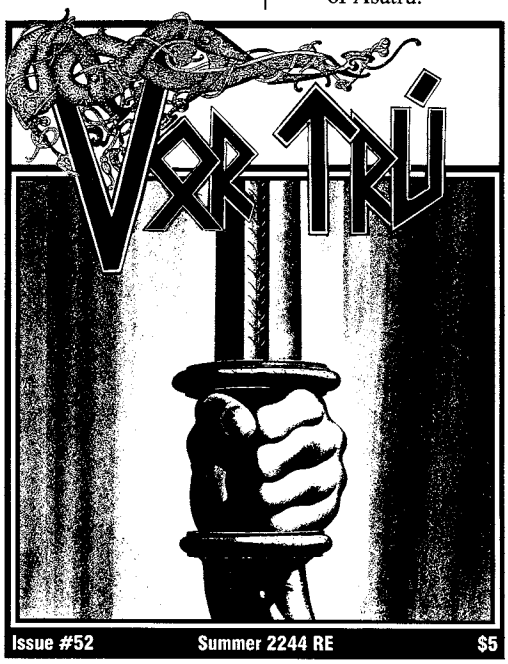


Portland Attorney Michael Clinton at the 1993 Viking Days in Vancouver, Washington

In an interview with Else Christensen, the aging matriarch and philosopher of the movement, Thor Sannhet writes the following about the "religion" of Asatru:

> In many respects, Odinist and Asatru organizations have the same problem in preventing deep infiltration and take-over by neo-Nazis and/or counterculture "Hippie-Wiccans" that America's labor unions have faced in preventing takeovers by Communists and/or the Mafia.

Asatru Alliance (Cont.)



Willis Carto

Mankind Quarterly
"Scholarly" Race Hatred.

Thor Sannhet
Racism and tribalism have an instinctive basis that exists in all men of all races, and society and religion can only go so far in suppressing this.

Valgard's organization split from the Odinist Fellowship because he wanted to bend over backwards to emphasize the purely religious aspects of Asatru.[22]

On the same page, however, Sannhet goes on to explain, unwittingly, why such Odinist and Asatru organizations attract neo-Nazis:

> Although she [Christiansen] emphasized Nordic folk values, she also opposed various forms of monopoly power, to include the Nazi kind. Ideologically, Else claimed to be fairly close to the view point of Willis Carto, author of the classic book *Profiles in Populism*.... Else adhered to a biological worldview and unabashedly used the word "Aryan" in her publication. She felt that an ideal society of our people would necessarily have to be a homogeneous society that would permit maximum self-determination and expression of innate traits. She included many scientific tracts on human genetics from *Mankind Quarterly* in the Giallarhorn Book Service that served *The Odinist*.[23]

During the Viking festival a pamphlet titled *Asatru: Questions and Answers*, was distributed at the "Religion and Philosophy" tent. It provides additional insight into the Asatru religious world view. Written by Thor Sannhet, an official of the Asatru Alliance, the article reads:

> Another advantage of tribal loyalty, and the policy of avoiding indiscriminate relations, is that Asatruar [Nordics] can be truer to themselves, to the extent that racism and tribalism have an instinctive basis that exists in all men [sic] of all races, and society and religion can only go so far in suppressing this.[24]

Elsewhere in the same article Sannhet comments favorably upon such scientific racists and eugenicists as Dr. William Shockley, Wilmot Robertson, author of the *The Dispossessed Majority*, and Roger Pearson, founder of *Mankind Quarterly* and a former head of the World Anti-Communist League, an international network of terrorists, neo-Nazis and mercenaries.

Robert Ward, the former editor of the national Satanist *Fifth Path*, has relocated from California to join the staff of *Vor Tru*. The most recent issue of the newsletter is a more professional job, reflecting Ward's skill at desktop publishing.

Besides lengthy interviews with Boyd Rice and Odinists from Europe, Ward's *Fifth Path* featured a two-part review of racist skinhead activity in east Germany. The author (Ward) can barely contain his enthusiasm as he reviews racist violence in Germany.

> A pride in being German has begun to take root after the guilt complex placed on all Germans, and seemingly all things German for the two world wars has slowly disappeared. Skinheads in Germany have grasped upon traditions their fathers, and their father's fathers held dear.
>
> The skinheads and neo-Nazis in Germany have been involved in 15,000 assaults, 275 arsons, and 3 deaths in the last year. While in the space of two days in LA some 50 people have been killed so far... Who's the real threat to society?... Germany has seemed to become the scapegoat of the 20th century... The skinheads seem to be a young faction of their society who want to change their society and country.[25]

"Ideologically, Else claimed to be fairly close to the view point of Willis Carto, author of the classic book *Profiles in Populism*.... Else adhered to a biological worldview and unabashedly used the word "Aryan" in her publication."

—Thor Sannhet

Documenting a Decade of Hate

Church of the Creator

Ben Klassen, the founder of the neo-Nazi Church of the Creator (COTC), committed suicide on August 7, 1993 at the age of 73, throwing his brutally violent, racist empire into disarray. During his lifetime Klassen authored *The White Man's Bible* and numerous other tracts detailing his anti-Christian, virulently racist and anti-Semitic philosophy and his vision of world-wide white supremacy.

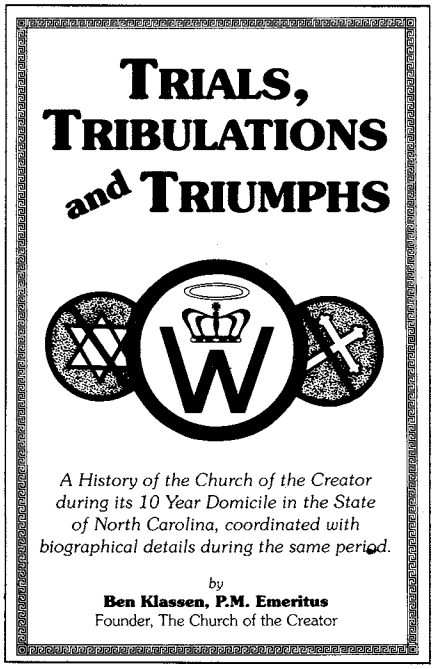
Klassen served as the "Pontifex Maximus" of the Church of the Creator from its founding in 1973 until 1992, at which time the retired real estate salesman had planned to pass over leadership of the COTC to Billings, Montana-based Rudy "Butch" Stanko.

Stanko had been successfully prosecuted on charges related to the selling of tainted meat to schools and spent nearly six years in prison for his offenses. While in prison, Stanko apparently corresponded with Klassen and was regularly featured in the COTC publication, *Racial Loyalty*, where he was described as Klassen's successor. But when Stanko was released from prison in 1991 he apparently turned down Klassen's offer of leadership. Soon thereafter Klassen picked Mark Wilson of Milwaukee, Wisconsin to lead the group. However, on January 28, 1993, Klassen abruptly turned control of the COTC over to an unknown in the racist movement, Rick McCarty of Niceville, Florida.

Wilson has since turned to the burgeoning racist music industry to put his talents to work helping coordinate Resistance Records and *Resistance* magazine from Detroit, Michigan. McCarty, on the other hand, recently passed over the reigns of the group to Paul Yates from Putnam Valley, New York. Yates runs a phone message center, but reportedly little else and is not expected to be able to mold the COTC into an influential racist organization.[26]

Despite this fact, there is evidence that among skinheads, the trappings of the extremely violent (even for neo-Nazis) ideas of the COTC may still have influence.

On Tuesday July 20, 1993 the barbed wire fencing outside the offices of the Tacoma, Washington chapter of the NAACP was cut and a pipe bomb hurled through a double-paned window into the ante-room of the building. Fortunately the attack was only partially successful, doing only minor damage.



Wayne Paul Wooten, 18, and Jeremiah Gordon Knesal, 19, allegedly members of the COTC, were arrested in Salinas, California shortly thereafter while shoplifting. A search of their vehicle revealed three pipe bombs, four loaded rifles, flak vests and other military clothing.

The next day the Auburn, Washington apartment of Mark Kowaalski, 24, was raided. Kowaalski was eventually charged and convicted of manufacture of an explosive device, possession of a firearm while a convicted felon and bombing the NAACP office. Kowaalski was also a member of the Church of the Creator, and claimed to have set up a post office box for the Portland-based American Front in the Seattle area.

Church of The Creator

Ben Klassen "Pontifex Maximus" Until his death in 1993.

White Man's Bible

Tacoma, Washington NAACP Offices pipe-bombed by racist skinheads associated with the COTC.

COTC Activist Rudy Stanko Selling tainted meat to schools.

Rick McCarty Why did Klassen give the COTC over to him?

Church of Jesus Christ Christian–Aryan Nations

Hayden Lake, Idaho

Wesley Swift

Richard Butler

Hitler

Church of Jesus Christ Christian–Aryan Nations

The Church of Jesus Christ Christian and its Aryan Nations political wing in Hayden Lake, Idaho is the most notorious example of neo-Nazism and Identity Christianity in the Northwest, perhaps the country. From his mentor Wesley Swift, Aryan Nations leader Richard Girnt Butler learned not only the core tenets of this racist religion, but a deep admiration for Adolf Hitler and the German Nazis, including the belief that "... Hitler was perhaps the second witness of our Father's Life Law."[27]

Aryan Nations— Bridging the Gap Between Christian Identity and Neo-Nazis

ZOG— Zionist Occupation Government

Butler relocated Swift's "Church" from Northern California to Hayden Lake in the mid-1970s. Since that time he has made every effort to bridge the gap between Christian Identity and hard-core neo-Nazis, Ku Klux Klan followers and racist skinheads.

Butler's vision for carrying out a war against what is known in the movement as the "Zionist Occupation Government" or "ZOG" is relatively straightforward. Unlike other Christian Identity leaders, who settle for more-or-less abstract notions of their Christian Identity Kingdom, Butler sees the Pacific Northwest as the geographical space where God's kingdom will be established. Together with numerous other white supremacist groups, Aryan Nations seeks to merge their group with an actual nation-state, a white controlled area in the Pacific Northwest purged of people of color, Jews and racial enemies.[28]

The creation of such a nation will, logically enough, require the formation of an army. On the pages of the Aryan Nations publication *Calling Our Nation*, the vision of just such an army has been made clear:

> ...[A]ll the components of the ONE ARMY are readily available for assembly into a finished weapon that could be made relatively quickly available to blunt and destroy the spearhead of kike-spic-spook-gook-nigger axis of evil arrayed against our Race...
>
> That ONE ARMY is ARYAN NATIONS, which has the only viable and technologically complete concept of organizational infrastructure and inherent logistical capability.... ARYAN NATIONS has already raised the highest standard of our RACE, the Revolving Resurrection Cross [i.e., swastika] of Jesus Christ, which alone will lead our Race to the Promised Victory, as prophesied.[29]

Butler's vision for the Pacific Northwest emerges in the group's widely distributed "Platform for the Aryan National State."[30] In Butler's state only whites would be citizens, entitling them to the sole right to vote, own property, possess arms, conduct business, hold public office, be part of the military and engage in work of their choosing. Non-citizens might be allowed to live in the Aryan Homeland, but only "under the custodianship of a citizen."[31]

Butler's vision of a purified and revived Aryan state also involves massive violence against Jewish people, including an allusion to genocide:

> All hybrids called Jews are to be repatriated from the Republic's territory, all their wealth be redistributed to restore our people, and it shall be a capital offense to advocate or promote Jew Talmudic anti-Christ Communism in any manner or any other crimes against nature.[32]

Documenting a Decade of Hate

Butler's organizing efforts in this direction have been persistent. After a failed effort in the mid-1970s to form a Posse Comitatus unit in Kootenai County, Idaho and a brief alignment with the Louisiana-based National Emancipation of the White Seed, Butler created the Aryan Nations as the political arm of his Church of Jesus Christ Christian.

In the late 1970s Butler made his first attempt to bill the Aryan Nations as the national center of the hard-core racist movement. Sponsoring the "Pacific States National Kingdom Identity Conference" at his Hayden Lake compound in 1979, Butler reached out to pull together Identity leaders from around the country. The first keynote speaker was Church of Israel leader Dan Gayman of Schell City, Missouri, a leading national proponent of the two-seed version of Identity.[33]

By 1980, Butler sought to broaden his appeal beyond Identity circles, reaching out to Klan, neo-Nazi and Posse leaders with a conference held in western Kansas. Shortly after this conference, Gayman renounced the Aryan Nations leader for his outreach to neo-Nazis and klansmen, telling his Schell City, Missouri congregation:

> There are those who say the time has come when we must go into the streets and bring the government of God with the barrel of a gun. But I am not going on a Kamikaze mission to make National Socialism the next high Christian culture in America. My god is not George Lincoln Rockwell. My god is Jesus Christ. If your god is Adolf Hitler, then let it be so.[34]

Defections such as Gayman's would prove a continuing problem for Butler in his ongoing efforts to bring the racist right together under a unified leadership. By 1982, Butler was becoming a leading figure in the racist right. He had established his annual event, now dubbed the "Aryan World Congress," as a gathering of comparable stature to that held every year by the Ku Klux Klan in Stone Mountain, Georgia. Butler's rising star in the racist movement was reflected in the list of prominent racists at the 1982 Congress. Alexi Erlanger, the U.S. spokesman for Manfred Roeder, a German activist and leader of the *Deutsche Aktionsgruppen*, a German neo-Nazi organization was in attendance. Texan Louis Beam, a fiery paramilitary advocate and former leader in David Duke's Klan, was also there. Robert Miles, the ex-United Klans of America leader and convicted school bus bomber who had established the Mountain Church in Cohactah, Michigan was present, as was J.B. Stoner, the head of the National State's Rights Party indicted in 1977 in connection with a 1954 bombing of a Birmingham, Alabama church.[35]

Church of Jesus Christ Christian–Aryan Nations (Cont.)

Louis Beam
A regular at the annual Aryan World Congress

Robert Miles

"All hybrids called Jews are to be repatriated from the Republic's territory, all their wealth be redistributed to restore our people, and it shall be a capital offense to advocate or promote Jew Talmudic anti-Christ Communism in any manner or any other crimes against nature."
—Richard Butler

The Order

J.B. Stoner
Head of the National State's Rights Party

William Pierce

Racist Violence & Terror

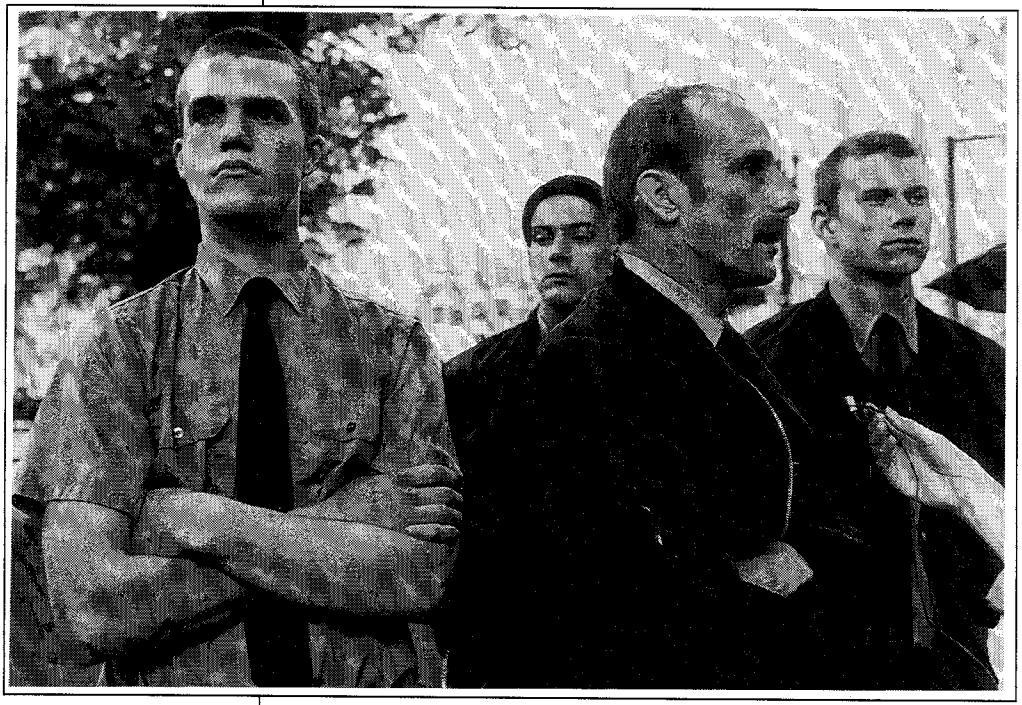
Aryan Nations leaders and associates have practiced the racist violence preached by Butler. In 1983 Butler's repeated calls for a "racial holy war" found an echo in the formation of the Order, a violent terrorist underground comprised largely of Aryan Nations members and followers of William Pierce's National Alliance, a pagan neo-Nazi organization based in Virginia.[36]

By December 1984, when the organization was finally broken up, members had robbed a series of armored cars, netting over $4 million, bombed a Boise, Idaho synagogue, and bru-

Church of Jesus Christ Christian–Aryan Nations (Cont.)

Robert Mathews

tally murdered Alan Berg, a Jewish talk-show host from Denver, Colorado, as well as a Missouri state trooper and a fellow Aryan Nations member. The group's leader, Robert Mathews was killed in a shoot-out with federal agents on South Whidbey Island, Washington on December 8, 1984. In all, more than two-dozen members were apprehended.[37]



Ex-Aryan Nations Leader Floyd Cochran With A Group of Skinheads in Portland Promoting the AN's New Image. Since this Photo was taken Cochran has quit the Aryan Nations and renounced racism.

This date has since been declared "Martyrs Day" by Aryan Nations and Mathews is revered by most white supremacists. From 1988 until 1992 various groups, from Tom and John Metzger's White Aryan Resistance to Butler's Aryan Nations, have held commemorative events at South Whidbey State Park. Since 1992 vocal protests and community activism have led racists to hold their memorial events in private.

The terrorist legacy of the Order was followed by repeated acts of violence by Aryan Nations members and supporters. In 1985, following the arrest and imprisonment of more than two-dozen Order members, Eldon "Bud" Cutler, the Aryan Nations security chief was arrested and convicted of plotting the murder of former Order member Tom Martinez.[38]

In 1986, the Bruders Schweigen Strike Force II (*Bruders schweigen*, or "Silent Brotherhood," was one name Order members used to refer to their group) was formed by Aryan Nations members Robert Pires, David Dorr, Edward Hawley and Olive Hawley. Strike Force II members were tried and convicted for the bombing of four buildings in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho that September, including the home of Northwest Coalition Against Malicious Harassment Director Bill Wassmuth.[39] This was followed in 1991 with the arrest of three recent attendees of an Aryan Youth Congress for a plot to bomb a gay bar and a Korean business in Seattle.

Aryan Nations Attempts to Modernize

Throughout 1991 and 1992, Aryan Nations made several attempts to improve their violent image. In mid-1991, the group launched a campaign to reach out to resource extraction dependent communities threatened by economic downturn and seemingly hostile environmental legislation.

The campaign to convert workers in timber and fishing communities was spearheaded by then-Aryan Nations propaganda minister Floyd Cochran. Cochran traveled the Pacific Northwest from Medford, Oregon to Forks, Washington throughout the spring and summer of 1991.[40]

At a press conference in Portland, Oregon, Cochran announced a new direction for the group, stating, "We're mainlining and that will make us a lot more powerful. To obtain political clout we have to do it at the ballot box. In that respect, Aryan Nations has changed its tactics."[41]

While the new Aryan Nations effort met with little actual success, by January 1992, Chief of Staff Carl Franklin felt emboldened enough to announce the creation of an Aryan National Identity Party as a "force in local politics."[42]

Documenting a Decade of Hate

Leadership Crisis

The Aryan Nations' bid to mainstream race hatred and bolster their numbers did not succeed. By mid-1992 the group was mired in factional infighting and a leadership crisis that continues to the present. Faced with the poor health and increasing years of Richard Butler, the need to find and groom a successor began in earnest.

That same year Carl Franklin, a Pennsylvania Aryan Nations leader, brother-in-law of Order member David Lane and assistant editor of *Calling Our Nation*, was generally acknowledged to be Butler's choice as his successor. But in an organization so dependent on the ability of a leader to command the respect of his followers, Franklin was a fish out of water. While recognized by many to be an able administrator, Franklin quickly aroused the criticism of many Aryan Nations supporters because of his demonstrable lack of charisma and leadership qualities.[43] In addition, Franklin lacked the proven track record of Butler, whose own dreary delivery was compensated for by his respected leadership ability and long-standing stature in the movement.

As Franklin attempted to assert his leadership, the stage was set in 1992 for the first in a series of divisive splits. The showdown came just before the Aryan World Congress in 1992 with several key members leaving the organization. Perhaps the most damaging was the departure of Floyd Cochran, the number five man and the group's propaganda minister. Cochran left not only Aryan Nations, but the racist movement itself. His departure from the group marked a turning point for a man who had been involved in the racist movement since his teens. Renouncing racism and bigotry, Floyd Cochran began speaking out against the Aryan Nations, becoming a valuable addition to efforts to turn back the white supremacist movement.[44]

Just one week before the Aryan World Congress Justin Dwyer, a young skinhead who acted as the group's Washington state leader, bolted from the organization, citing strategic differences with Aryan Nations leaders. Departing with Dwyer were Washington state security chief Brad Williams and Western Washington leader John Sheppard who had assumed control of the coastal region following Dwyer's move to the Colville, Washington area in June 1992.[45]

Larry McCurry, a long-time Aryan Nations leader from Montana also left the organization, as did the group's southern representative Bobby Norton of Tennessee. While Dwyer and others cited strategic differences with Aryan Nations leaders for their departure, Franklin's ascension to power and his demand that Aryan Nations state leaders tow his line contributed strongly to the flight.

1989 World Aryan Congress
(L-R)
"White Woman,"
"Aryan Girl,"
Kim Badynski,
Richard Butler,
Thom Robb,
Rick Cooper

Calling Our Nation

Carl Franklin
A fish out of water

As the attendees at the mid-July Aryan World Congress filtered in, rumors ran wild about splits in the organization. Some speculated that Dwyer, in a "move to the left," had departed to side with Robert Heick, the Portland, Oregon-based head of the American Front.[46] Another subject of debate was whether Cochran had been a government agent for the duration of his time in Aryan Nations or just a recent "race traitor." Morale was clearly down during the event as were the numbers in attendance, with only about 150 present for the Sunday evening cross burning.[47]

Those in attendance at the event comprised the many longtime allies of the racist group, including Canadian leader John Ross Taylor, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan leaders Thom Robb, Nathan Robb and Stanley McCollum, National Socialist Vanguard leader Rick Cooper and Maryland Klan leader Harold von Braunhaut. Other attendees included Douglas

Church of Jesus Christ Christian–Aryan Nations (Cont.)

Defections and Falling Morale

The Northwest Imperative:

Church of Jesus Christ Christian–Aryan Nations (Cont.)

Internal Conflicts
Thom Robb was snubbed at the cross burning ceremony.

Franklin, Rodney Smith and Leonard Emerson Bolt From Aryan Nations.

National Socialist American Workers Freedom Party

NSDAP—AO

Carl Franklin

Grider of Brenham, Texas, an apparent follower of William Pierce's National Alliance, a contingent of skinheads from Missoula, Montana and former Canadian skinhead Mark Bower, who had removed his Maple Leaf tattoo and was letting his hair grow out. As usual, a neo-Nazi marriage took place at the event, this time between skinheads Gregory Scott Philyaw and Emily Jane Adair of Pullman, Washington.

Also present at the event was Lori Ryncarz from Washington state who spoke on behalf of the Alabama-based Family Assistance Project, a white supremacist support group for families with activists in prison. Lori's husband, Joseph Ryncarz, a registered lobbyist in Olympia and a Populist Party activist, was at that time serving a prison sentence. Noticeably absent was Louis Beam, the longtime Aryan Nations leader who many speculated could lead the group from out of its seemingly mortal slump.[48]

In addition to divisions in the group, signs were present of problems in the longtime relationship between the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and the Aryan Nations. Despite his stature as a national leader and Aryan Nations ally, Klan leader Thom Robb was given a paltry fifteen minutes speaking time Friday evening. The honor of "lighting" the ritual cross was passed to the obviously deranged Klan leader from Maryland, Harold von Braunhaut. Some skinheads present criticized Robb for his toned-down approach to race hatred, privately ridiculing Robb for "wanting us to be nice."[49]

The incompetence of Franklin's leadership and the downward spiral of the group continued into 1993. Only seventy-five racists were in attendance at the Congress that year, a low not seen since 1987 when the event was canceled due to the Fort Smith Trial of Richard Butler and other movement leaders on sedition charges.[50]

In mid-1993 the split widened. Citing a lack of pay over a two and one-half year interval and disagreements over operational policy, second-in-command Carl Franklin and Aryan Nations security chief Wayne Jones departed, taking with them Aryan Nations staff members Rodney Smith and Leonard Emerson.

In August 1993 Franklin announced the formation of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian of Montana from a new base of operations in the Sanders County town of Noxon.[51] Declaring himself the Archbishop of the church and sustained by donations of a parcel of land, a mobile home and food, Franklin set out to exploit the aftermath of the Waco/Weaver incidents with stories in early editions of his newsletter *The Cornerstone*.[52]

Franklin has also played on themes of concern to area loggers, injecting his own unique spin. In a letter to the editor published in the Chehalis, Washington *Log Trucker* magazine, Franklin writes, "The coming warfare will be literally a war for survival not just of the logging industry or a way of life, but the very survival of the white race."[53]

Upon arrival in Montana, Franklin also began promoting a book titled *Seed of the Woman* by Joshua von Vulcan. Von Vulcan writes of a secretive racist cell called "the Organization" which seeks to avoid the mistakes of past neo-Nazi terrorist efforts. The main character of the group is David Langley, an escaped prisoner from the Denver county jail who is reminiscent of Order member David Lane, Franklin's brother-in-law.[54]

By the time of the July 1994 Aryan World Congress the number of attendees remained at a low of 150. The mood of the Congress, however, echoed the militant atmosphere of the April Youth Congress. According to the Southern Poverty Law Center's August 1994 *Klanwatch Intelligence Report*, Louis Beam played a dominant role at the event, promoting his strategy of "leaderless resistance."[55] J.B. Stoner also spoke at the event on "fighting against jewish [sic] integration in the South and why we lost," as did Polson, Montana Identity leader Chris Temple who spoke on the August 1992 Weaver stand-off.[56] Also speaking were Jeff Schoep of the National Socialist American Workers Freedom Party, Vince Reed, National Socialist Vanguard head Rick Cooper, Canadian leader John Ross Taylor and long-time Aryan Nations supporter Newman Britton.[57]

A significant addition to the Aryan Nations speakers list was Mike Storm of the Lincoln, Nebraska-based NSDAP-AO.[58] In a not-so-veiled expression of his glee about the Holocaust, Storm claims to have "mentioned the need for six million less enemies of the white

race, which got the crowd smiling."[59]

At the 1994 Youth Congress Tim Bishop established himself as the new chief of staff. Bishop, of Coeur d'Alene, is a former Kansas leader in the Missouri-based White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. John Burk of Post Falls, Idaho is the current Aryan Nations chief of security.

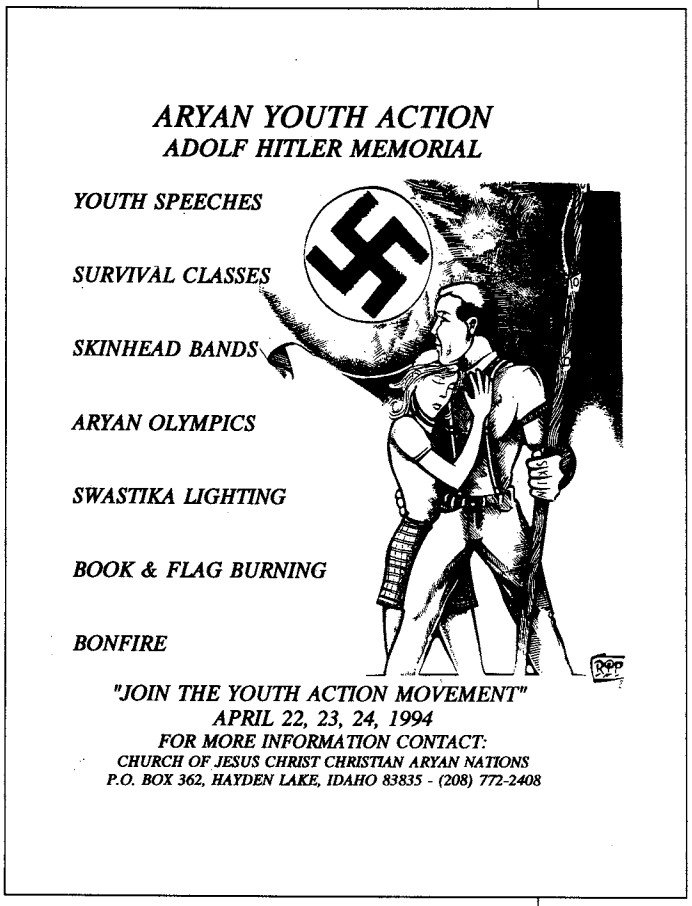
Other recent developments with the Aryan Nations church include a new Oregon representative, Dennis L. Hilligoss. Hilligoss is a former anti-immigrant organizer from Southern California who relocated to Southern Oregon sometime in early 1994. In a promotional letter mailed to Aryan Nations members and supporters in the state of Oregon, Hilligoss claims to have been appointed by Tim Bishop and to have several "projects" in motion including a "bookstore, church, organizational meetings and propaganda drives."[60] To date little Aryan Nations activity from the state has been reported.

Aryan Youth Action Coference

In 1989, in an effort to target neo-Nazi skinheads who had become a growing segment of the racist movement, Aryan Nations convened its first racist skinhead gathering, entitled the "Skinhead Solution Seminar." Now an annual event, the youth conferences are held the weekend closest to Hitler's birthday. The April 1994 gathering carried the subtitle, "Adolf Hitler Memorial."[61]

The youth gatherings, which have been called the "Aryan Youth Action Conferences" since 1990, are the most important annual racist skinhead gathering in the country. These events have emerged as a critical factor in maintaining a youth-based element of the Pacific Northwest white supremacist movement. The program format for the weekend-long event is meant to attract not only single young men but whole families with recreational activities like the Aryan Olympics, hammer tosses, and a tug-of-war for all ages and sexes. The event brings new racist recruits in direct contact with movement legends, some with direct ties to such larger-than-life organizations as the Order, in an atmosphere geared towards sustaining the racist skinhead subculture.

According to Rick Cooper, head of the National Socialist Vanguard and the likely inspiration behind the initiation of the Action Conferences,



The Church of Jesus Christ Christian in Hayden Lake, Idaho, has selected the nearest weekend to Adolf Hitler's birthday to sponsor a national Skinhead conference, especially for Skin leaders and people interested in Skins. The purpose of this conference will be to help organize the Skins and direct them to constructive aims.[62]

The first conference attracted just over 100 attendees, of whom 50 were skinheads and 60 were non-skinheads.[63]

By the weekend of April 20-22, 1990, the Aryan Nations had taken to calling the gathering the "Aryan Youth Action Conference" and

Church of Jesus Christ Christian-Aryan Nations (Cont.)

Dennis L. Hilligoss

Tim Bishop

Aryan Youth Congress

Hitler's Birthday Party

Church of Jesus Christ Christian–Aryan Nations (Cont.)

the stated goal of the event was to form an "Aryan Youth Action Corps."[64] A memorial service to fallen German National Socialist comrades and to Adolf Hitler was held and an array of movement leaders mingled with their younger skinhead comrades.[65]

> **"The Church of Jesus Christ Christian in Hayden Lake, Idaho, has selected the nearest weekend to Adolf Hitler's birthday to sponsor a national Skinhead conference, especially for Skin leaders and people interested in Skins. The purpose of this conference will be to help organize the Skins and direct them to constructive aims."**
>
> *—Rick E. Cooper*

CAUSE Foundation Attorney Kirk Lyons created CAUSE to serve the white supremacist movement. CAUSE is an acronym for "Canada, Australia, United States South Africa, Europe."

In addition to Butler and other Aryan Nations staffers, attorney Kirk Lyons of the Patriots Defense Foundation (now called the "CAUSE Foundation") lectured the skinheads. Skins in attendance included Tony McAleer of the Aryan Resistance Movement (British Columbia, Canada), Britany Baker of Portland, Oregon, David Cooper of the Christian Identity Skinheads (CIS) of Las Vegas, Shiloh Creller of Women for Aryan Unity (Chico, CA), Mary Lynn Bangerter (CIS), and Barbara Dwyer of the Aryan Women's League, based in Santa Rosa, California.[66] Ms. Dwyer, currently the ex-wife of Justin Dwyer, was quoted from the conference as active in "First Aid, Child Safety; Emergency Info. Guide, Maternity clothes exchange, Aryan Alphabet Coloring book, Aryan Parent Newsletter, POW art collection and fund."[67]

Shortly after the conference three Aryan Nations members were arrested on charges of conspiring to bomb a Seattle gay bar, a Korean-American restaurant and an African-American business.[68] Stephen E. Nelson, Robert John Winslow and James P. Baker were all arrested and later tried and convicted of the charges.[69] Just prior to the bomb plot, the Aryan Nations had appointed Nelson head of the "Aryan Youth Action Corps" and he was a trainer for the 1990 Action Conference demonstrating the interest professional white supremacists had in the growing militancy of the skinhead segment of the movement.[70]

The 1991 Conference featured a large contingent of skinheads from Portland, Oregon who were at that time engaged in a series of street battles with anti-racist skinheads in and around the city. Upon their return from the conference, skinheads from the American Front and the Southeast Bootboys attacked anti-racists at apartments in Southeast Portland, and numerous clashes followed.

The 1992 and 1993 Action Conferences saw a drop in participation, reflecting splits in the Aryan Nations leadership then underway. In spite of the factionalism, the Action Conferences did manage to attract regular attendees such as Thom Robb, Justin Dwyer (soon to temporarily depart from the organization) and Elisabeth Bullis representing the Portland-based American Front.

It took the 1994 Aryan Youth Action Conference (subtitled "Adolf Hitler Memorial") to re-energize the annual skinhead gathering. In the past skinheads had complained about compound rules prohibiting alcohol from the grounds and the lack of participation by younger skinheads. The 1994 conference, held April 22-24 changed all of that.

Justin Dwyer

Odin's Law— A British Columbia, Canada-based skinhead band that played the 1994 Aryan Youth Action Conference.

Justin Dwyer, who had split from Aryan Nations just over a year previous to the 1994 gathering, is credited with making arrangements for two racist skinhead bands to play for the festivities. Johnny Bangeter's Christian Identity Skinheads, affiliated with the Army of Israel from Utah, played as did a Vancouver, British Columbia band, Odin's Law.[71] The Conference also featured Survival Classes, Aryan Olympics, a Swastika burning and a bonfire, drinking and a "slam pit" for dancing to racist rock 'n' roll. Dwyer and Elisabeth Bullis were married during the swastika burning.[72] Neo-Nazi Harry Schmidt, the chair of the Washington State Populist Party, also attended the gathering, apparently looking for good "political soldiers" to use as fodder.

Documenting a Decade of Hate

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Kim Badynski

Harry Schmidt

Populist Party

In 1987 Kim Allen Badynski, an organizer in the Illinois Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, relocated to Spokane, Washington to form a regional section of the organization in the five state area of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana and Wyoming. Like other racists of this period, Badynski's move to the region was motivated by the so-called "Northwest Territorial Imperative."[73] In an early edition of his newsletter, *Klan Kourage,* he writes,

> We consider the Northwest Territorial Imperative as the last hope for the White Race within the present political system. In no other region of the United States is the White Race in the demographic majority. For this reason alone, we can politically and economically unite better than anywhere else. The days of "keeping the darkies on their side of the tracks" is long gone. By embracing a new strategy, ZOG will not feel as free to try to intimidate us by their non-White, anti-Christ hordes. The Northwest Territorial Imperative—the most positive alternative of any currently suggested.[74]

While in Spokane, Badynski hosted a series of racist programs on the city's public access cable television channel and continued with the erratic publication of *Klan Kourage.* Badynski's most significant political involvement began in 1988 when he joined the Populist Party of Washington state. The Klan leader soon attained the position of Sergeant at Arms within the party, and has played a leading role in the organization ever since.

Upon relocating to the city of Tacoma in late 1988 Badynski became Pierce County chapter coordinator of the Populist Party and soon was seated on the state party's executive committee, a position he has held ever since. His stature and influence continued to grow, so that by 1991 he served as representative to the national governing body, attending national Populist Party conventions in California (1991) and New Jersey (1992).[75]

Through Badynski, the Klan's impact on the Populist Party of Washington state grew. His influence peaked with the rise of neo-Nazi Harry Schmidt to the position of state chair in 1992. Schmidt has echoed Klan politics in testimony before several state legislative committees, referring to the Nazi swastika as the "earliest Christian symbol" and Klan cross-burnings as "a Christian practice."[76] Badynski and his boss, Klansman Thom Robb, have expressed these same themes, describing Nazi Germany as a "white Christian revival" and cross-burnings as symbols of "the light of Christ, dispelling darkness and ignorance."[77]

Kim Badynski in a Riot Helmet

Tom Robb

By 1993 Klan supporter Mark Downey had become vice-chair of the state party, solidifying Knights of the Ku Klux Klan influence within the executive committee of the Populist Party.

Badynski's role in the Populist Party should be understood as an outgrowth of the national strategy of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. His move into electoral politics represents a concerted effort to promote a neo-Nazi agenda through whatever political party presents itself as ripe for takeover. In Washington, that party is the Populist Party, which has welcomed the involvement of the longtime Klan leader for more than six years.

Thom Robb, Chairman of the National

The Northwest Imperative:

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Cont.)

Sleepers
Tom Robb advocates that klansmen infiltrate mainstream and alternative political parties.

Tom Robb—
Hiding your Klan "affliction."

Tom Robb—
The Klan is not a Hate group.

White Patriot

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, believes that political space in America has opened up for white supremacists. In his internal newsletter, *Robb's Victory Report*, he advocates the training of Klan members in electoral politics so as to take advantage of this "window of opportunity." He has stated, "...[W]e need people getting experience in political work for the day when *our* people are in positions to run for office."[78] Robb advises Klan members to keep their affiliations "confidential," even referring to these activists as "sleepers."

Robb writes:

> You must remember that those who are blue collar workers will for the most part be unable to move into that "circle." But those of you who are successful business people, who perhaps are in the professions, will be able to move as sleepers up into the party ranks. You will be forced to keep your Klan affliction [sic] private, but will, as a result, start preparing the way.[79]

In toning down the image and message of the Knights, Robb has sought to portray the group as essentially a civil rights organization battling "reverse discrimination" against white people. A special recruitment issue of the Knights national paper the *White Patriot* titled "This is the Klan" reads in part:

> The Klan ...is not a hate group, but we are a Love group. We are a love group because we love America and we Love our people.
>
> The Klan does not believe in slavery and believes that the Negro should have the right to self-determination. Self-determination is the belief that a people should have the right to rule their own affairs. However, the Negro is not being given this opportunity unless it is in the form of oppressing the rights of White people....
>
> Instead of these minorities complaining and demanding more and more, they should get down on their knees every morning and THANK the White man for everything that we have given them, they, in their original homeland have none of the benefits that they are enjoying in America. Remember it is your tax dollars that has to pay for all those free benefits they get and it now takes the income of two to feed our families....[80]

As evidenced above, Robb plays heavily on themes that scapegoat black people as a non-productive drain on a productive white population. The success of this strategy is in doubt, however, because of internal dissension over Robb's attempts at moderating the image of the Klan.

A recent split in the group magnifies the neo-Nazism at the core of the Knights as well as the difficulties Robb has maintaining a base of

Documenting a Decade of Hate

support with the violent racists who generally make up Klan groups. As described in the May 1994 fact finding report *The Klan Splits: A Radical Breakaway* by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, a significant split developed in early 1994 between Robb and Ed Novak, the Klan group's Illinois Grand Dragon, National security chief ("nighthawk" in Klan jargon) and member of the national Grand Council.[81] According to the report, Novak, an alias for Eward Melkonian, split with Robb over the issue of "moderating" the image of the group and Robb's public renunciation of violence. Novak's promotion of neo-Nazism was not at issue in the split, but rather his commitment to "secrecy and militancy." In justification of his practice of wearing battle fatigues to demonstrations, Novak stated, "Robes are too sacred to wear to a street fight."[82]

Robb based his approach to Klan organizing on the assumption that more political space exists for Klan organizers, especially in the American South, than for open neo-Nazis. This same approach to neo-Nazi organizing under the hood has been brought to the Pacific Northwest only relatively recently, beginning in 1989 with the efforts of Harry Schmidt and Badynski through the Populist Party of Washington State. Thus far, their efforts have not been well rewarded.

Despite his successful move into the Populist Party of Washington, Badynski has failed to build the organization into a significant political force in the state. While the party managed to qualify far right Christian Patriot leader James "Bo" Gritz for the ballot during the 1992 presidential race, Badynski and his allies have yet to elect a single open Populist Party member to office.

In addition to Badynski's work with the Populist Party, he and his wife, Debbie, are loyal attendees of neo-Nazi events, including the annual Aryan World Congresses held at the compound of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian in Hayden Lake, Idaho and the annual vigils for fallen Order leader Robert J. Mathews held every year at South Whidbey Island State Park from 1988 through 1992. A run-down of the "Activities of the Northwest Knights 1987-88" (right) printed in a Spokane edition of *Klan Kourage* notes these events.

The Klan In Action

1987

July—Security duty and public speech at Aryan Nations Congress.

August—Public speech at annual Klan Rally in Stone Mountain, GA.

Rudolph Hess Memorial Service at Aryan Nations Church.

October—Security and public speech at the Mountain Kirk in MI. (Bob Miles event).

Proposition 41 campaign (to challenge the Federal Reserve).

November—Public speech, march, and rally at the Texarkana Klan Leadership Conference.

Crystal Nacht Memorial Service at Aryan Nations Church.

December—Security duty for Richard Butler at the debut of Aryan Nations' Hour radio show in Salt Lake City.

Assisted with Christmas program at Aryan Nations Church.

1988

January—Public speech and march at KKKK Kongress in Pulaski, TN.

Installation of Northwest Knights Information Hotline.

Public speeches and security duty for Arkansas anti-sedition rallies.

February—Arkansas rallies continue. Public speech, march, rally, meeting and prayer vigil in Fort Smith...

April—Hitler Birthday Service at Aryan Nations Church.

May—Protest at Human Rights Task Force meetings in Sanders County, Montana.

July—Assistance with Aryan Nations Congress.

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Cont.)

Ed Novak
Splits with Robb over the issue of moderating the klan's image.

Illinois Grand Dragon Novak—
"Robes are too sacred to wear to a street fight."

Populist Party of Washington State
Political space exists for Klan organizers.

Kim Badynski
Loyal attendee of Aryan World Congresses & Hitler Birthday Parties.

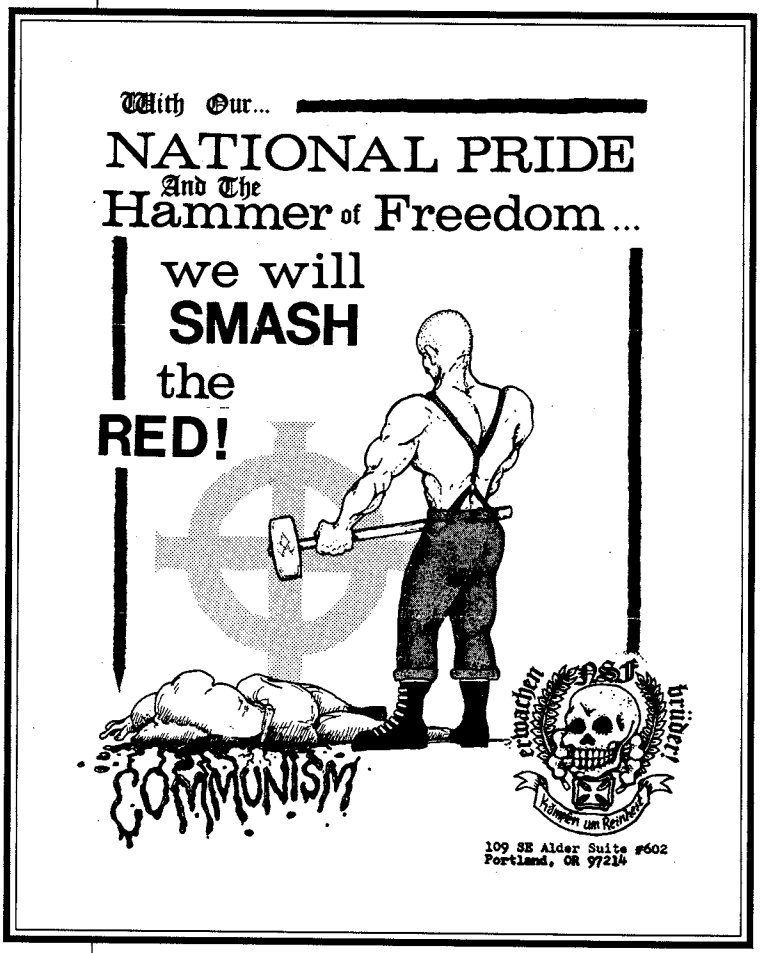
National Socialist Front/ Northwest Concern

National Socialist Front/ Northwest Concern

Derek Kristoff Stenzel

Nordwesten Beobachter

The National Socialist Front (NSF), a racist skinhead organization based in Portland, Oregon is headed up by Derek Kristoff Stenzel, a neo-Nazi with broad contacts in the national white supremacist movement. The NSF has published an infrequent newsletter, the *Nordwesten Beobachter* in which the following organizations were listed as contacts for individuals interested in "migrating" to the "Northwest Aryan State of Oregon": the National Aryan Front, the National Socialist Vanguard and the American Front.[83] In later editions the newsletter added the Christian Patriot Association, the Medford Citizen's Bar Association, Southern Oregon Skinheads and the Gresham, Oregon-based National Patriot Alliance as additional contacts.[84] The list of organizations is evidence of the group's "ecumenicist" position within the movement.



The "National Leader" was Convicted of a Hate Crime

Stenzel was reportedly present for the Weaver siege in Northern Idaho during late August 1992. According to neo-Nazi Rick Cooper, Stenzel and Christian Identity skinhead Patrick Kelly Foster bailed two racist skinheads out of jail. The two skinheads, Miles Dowling and Steven Shallenberger, were detained by police for allegedly having a truck full of weapons near the scene of the stand-off.[85]

Rick Cooper's *NSV Report* identifies Stenzel as the "national leader" of the NSF,[86] although such a title involves some grandstanding on the part of the young racist.

The "national leader" was tried and convicted of Intimidation I, (a hate crime) after a November 27, 1992 altercation with an African-American man on the Portland light rail. Stenzel's accomplice, Christopher Tupper, was convicted of assault in the fourth degree and attempted Intimidation I for the same incident. Stenzel was sentenced to 36 months probation. According to police reports,

> Stenzel was identified as the person who had participated with another person in the assault of two black male subjects and yelling "whitepower" following the assault. He was also identified as the person who had smashed the window from a TriMet Max Train.[87]

During the trial Stenzel filed motions that indicate a certain amount of (mis)schooling in the pseudo-legal techniques of the Christian Patriot movement. Court documents show a

Documenting a Decade of Hate

"Fully Informed Jury" motion filed by Stenzel that reads,

> Comes now Derek Kristoff Stenzel, Defendant, and demands that the Court instruct the jury that it is entitled by right to determine both the law as well as the facts, under Common Law and under the Constitution of the State of Oregon, and that each juror has the right to rule on the law according to the dictates of his own conscience, as to whether a particular law may be unjust or misapplied to a given case. Therefore, the Defendant, Derek Kristoff Stenzel, demands a trial by a jury fully informed of it's right to rule on the law.[88]

Stenzel also took exception to the architecture of the Multnomah county Justice center:

> Comes now the Defendant, Derek Kristoff Stenzel, and demands a change of venue on the grounds that the Sandstone Columns ...at the entrance to the Multnomah County Justice Center have no relationship to the architecture of the building and can only be of occult meaning, probably Babylonian and/or Masonic. Defendant therefore maintains that he cannot receive a fair and just trial in Multnomah County.[89]

A few months prior to the above incident, on April 17, 1992 an attack took place at 4500 Killingsworth Street in Portland that involved Summer Shields, Tonya Vaughn, Steve Shallenberger and Randy Krager, all skinheads.

After the two women, Shields and Vaughn, apparently beckoned two African-American men, Roger Beasley and Jacob Johnson, the male skinheads attacked. Johnson ended up in the intensive care unit with a skull fracture, contusions and other head injuries including swelling of the brain. Krager had punched Johnson and he fell, hitting his head on a curb. Johnson was in a coma for several days, but eventually recovered. Following the attack, the assailants ran to an apartment at 4613 N.E. Killingsworth—Derek Stenzel's apartment, where they were being housed.[90]

Krager was convicted of inflicting serious injuries on Jacob Johnson. During sentencing, presiding Judge Steinbock doubled Krager's sentence, imposing a three-year prison term. The *Oregonian* reported that,

> Steinbock said a presentence report found that Krager held strong views of white supremacy and that the assault case had not changed those views.... Steinbock said he was satisfied the incident was motivated by "bigotry and anti-black racism."[91]

In October 1992 Stenzel and other unidentified skinheads provided security for the visit of British Holocaust denier David Irving, whose lecture took place in Gresham, Oregon.[92]

But the most ambitious, if unrealistic, project begun by Stenzel and his group is the formation of the "Northwest Concern," described as a "Northwest Migration and Events Association" in the organization's newsletter the *Northwest Imperative*.[93]

Stenzel and Populist Party of Washington State activist Joseph Ryncarz are the "Chief Editors" of the group's newsletter. The politics of the newsletter are unabashedly neo-Nazi. "SS Unit Leader Ryker," a contributor to the first issue of the newsletter, writes:

> The Northwest Bastion, The Aryan Northwest, the Aryan Homeland, or, as I like to refer to it, the

National Socialist Front

Comes Now the Defendant

Racist Attack
Jacob Johnson ended up in the intensive care unit with a skull fracture, contusions and other head injuries including swelling of the brain.

Northwest Concern

Northwest Imperative

National Socialist Front (Cont.)

Joseph Ryncarz Populist Party activist who works with Stenzel helping "Aryans" relocate to the Northwest.

NSWPP— Neo-Nazi Harold Covington has promoted the Northwest Concern from his new headquarters in Seattle, Washington.

Aryan States of America. The development of the Pacific Northwest as an Aryan sanctuary was originally the brainchild of the late Robert E. Miles. He invisioned [sic] five states—Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming, as the gathering place & center of power for the right-wing.[94]

Stenzel and Ryncarz recommend the following organizations as contacts for "Aryans" seeking to "migrate" to the Pacific Northwest: the National Socialist Front, Populist Party of Washington, the Aryan Nations, and the Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, presumably run by Dan Lowe, of Longview, Washington, a lackluster kluxer who has organized in the area for approximately a year.

An application for the Northwest Concern reads:

> I swear that I am a Free and Sovereign Aryan, and that I am not a member or agent of any City, County, State, Federal or Foreign Law Enforcement agancy [sic], and that I am not a member or agent of any Communist/Marxist, Antiracist, Homosexual or Jewish Organization or Association or religion. I understand that the Northwest Concern is a not-for-profit association working towards the advancement of the Northwest Imperative and Racial Separatism, and I am in agreement with these goals. I understand that the NORTHWEST CONCERN will keep all information that I furnish it in the STRICTEST confidence.[95]

An article in the second issue of the newsletter is titled, somewhat comically, "Some Guidelines for Good National Socialist Public Relations," about which the author writes, "The first and most important criterion for public relations is simply to be a good neighbor."[96]

Despite the humor, however, the group has had a serious and supportive review by a neo-Nazi group headed up by Harold Covington, who has recently relocated to Seattle, Washington from his previous base in North Carolina. (See "National Socialist White People's Party" below). Covington's journal, *Plexus*, which is described as "a National Socialist Theoretical Journal," ran a two-page glowing review of the organization in it's August 1994 issue.[97] The journal also included an advertisement for the Northwest Concern.

National Socialist Vanguard

Rick Cooper, a close comrade of Tom Metzger and a self-styled "movement scribe" has been a fixture on the Northwest white supremacist scene ever since he relocated to Goldendale, Washington in 1985. More than any other neo-Nazi in the region, Cooper has taken an interest in making political soldiers out of racist skinheads. In a 1987 issue of Cooper's journal, the *NSV Report*, he advocated the incorporation of racist skinheads into the white supremacist movement before most movement leaders had begun their outreach. Since that time he has played a mentoring role to a succession of racist skinhead leaders in Oregon and Southwest Washington.

Cooper had extensive and early contact with Portland's first bonafide racist skinhead organization, Preservation of the White Aryan Race (POWAR), in 1988. He soon thereafter established contact with members of the infamous East Side White Pride skinhead group.[98] He also aided such short lived skinhead efforts as the Northern Hammerskins, East Side Bootboys and since 1990, the American Front, his most extensive mentoring project to date.

According to Floyd Cochran, the ex-propaganda minister for the Aryan Nations who turned on the racist movement in July of 1992,

> Cooper has been in the racist movement for a long time. He is somewhat—to a certain degree—educated. He provides an outlet for some of the skinheads to get some things published in

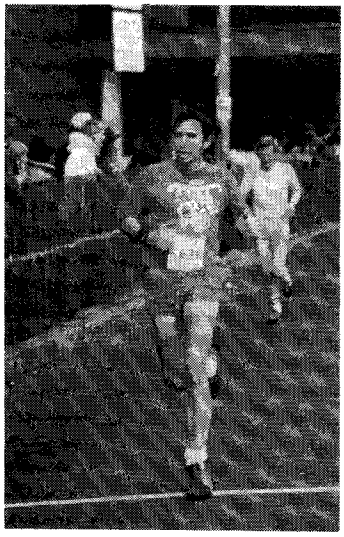
Documenting a Decade of Hate

the *NSV Report*. He is beginning to take on the role of an elder statesman."[99]

The first edition of *NSV Report*, dated January-March 1983 provides a glimpse into the fantasy world of a neo-Nazi at the beginning of his efforts to build a viable organization.

> [Our] new organization would be entirely self supporting..., [creating] profitable businesses that would finance the activities of the new organization. It was further decided that a National Socialist "community within a community" was needed to assist our people in their escape from the outside greedy "dog-eat-dog" society.[100]

The "community within a community" effort was dubbed "Wolfstadt," a "white racialist, non-partisan community."[101] But Cooper's effort failed and he relocated to the small, rural community of Goldendale, Washington in 1985.



Cooper is an unreconstructed neo-Nazi. While firm in his views, he works hard to be a non-sectarian bigot. As a self-styled intellectual of the white supremacist movement, he labors diligently to explicate the intricacies of national socialist, klan and Identity belief systems to skinheads and others deprived of his ideological training. In an early issue of the *NSV Report*, Cooper writes,

> Lastly, our successes, such as they are, are derived from simply understanding and complying with the revelation of our bible, Mein Kampf, as it is written, not the way a few out there would like it to be since they are not up to the full understanding of it.[102]

In keeping with his strong beliefs in the benevolent polices of Nazi Germany, Cooper sees all societies as biologically determined organisms:

> All Movement activists at one time or another have wondered why some "White" people do not really have the psychological makeup characteristic of White people after differences in social background, education and environment have been taken into account. The most common explanation is that this "White" person has a genetic disorder or some non-White racial inheritance somewhere in his ancestry, usually Jewish. This gives the "White" person the physical appearance of one of us, but the psychological attitude of an alien.[103]

Cooper's most active program to date involves mass mailings of hate literature to targeted recipients. He has worked with the Portland-based racist skinhead organization, the American Front, in the acquisition of student honor roll lists from local high schools. Together with his young racist counterparts, Cooper has carried out a number of mailings to communities in Washington, Oregon and Alaska. The mailings, which often include a copy of Cooper's *NSV Report*, are usually accompanied by publicity in the local media.

The postmaster at the Dalles, Oregon post office, located on the Columbia River across the Oregon-Washington border from Cooper's official residence in Goldendale, reported to the Sweet Home *New Era* that Cooper mails approximately twenty-thousand pieces of literature a year from that office.[104]

Cooper has also given presentations to West Linn High School, the Metropolitan Learning Center, Portland State University (two different classes on at least three occasions) and the University of Portland. And he additionally supplies the program tapes for airing Tom Metzger's cable television program "Race and Reason" to local cable access stations in Vancouver and Yakima, Washington and Portland, Oregon.

National Socialist Vanguard (Cont.)

NSV Report

Wolfstadt
A white racialist, non-partisan community.

Rick Cooper
The Neo-Nazi enjoys running long distance races. Here he is competing in a Portland marathon. He didn't do bad, either.

NSV Operation—
Collecting honor rolls from local highschools and targeting the students for mass neo-Nazi mailings.

National Socialist White People's Party

National Socialist White People's Party (NSWPP)

Resistance! The Revolutionary Voice of the NSWPP

Harold Covington— Comes to Seattle with extensive contacts in Europe

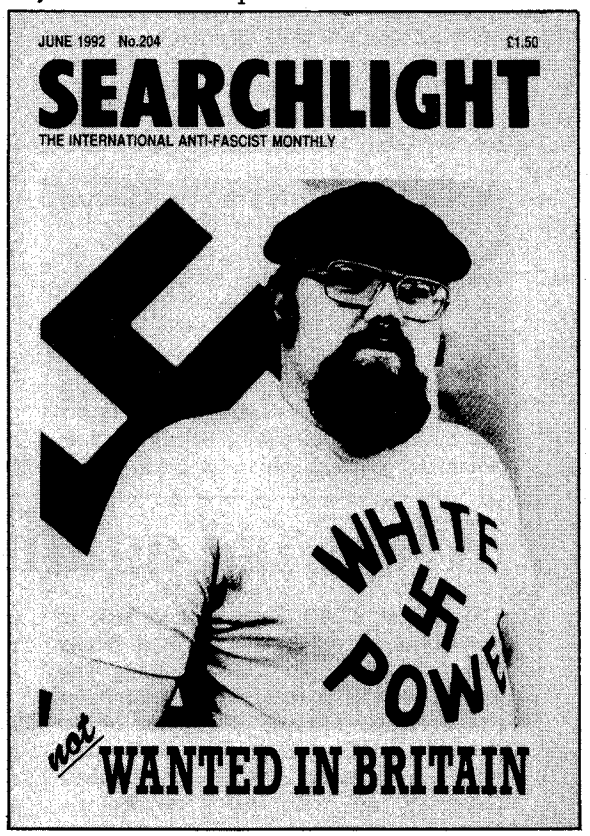
Metzger vs. Covington

Pierce vs. Covington

Robb vs. Covington

Combat 18— The European neo-Nazi terrorist group has distributed hit-lists of anti-fascist activists.

Headed up by Harold Covington, originally of North Carolina, the NSWPP is an unabashedly neo-Nazi organization with extensive contacts in Europe. The organizational newsletter is *Resistance! The Revolutionary Voice of the NSWPP* published by the "Central Support Unit" of the NSWPP.



Covington has recently relocated the NSWPP to Seattle, Washington and is attempting to revive the "Northwest Territorial Imperative," the strategy of establishing an Aryan National Republic in the five state area of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Wyoming and Montana.

The October 1994 issue of *Searchlight*, the British anti-fascist monthly reports that Covington is attempting to step in and displace both Tom Metzger and Thom Robb as leaders of the American neo-Nazi movement. Covington has had bitter battles with both Metzger and Robb. A fierce ideologue, Covington does not get along with William Pierce, either. Pierce is an elder statesmen of the movement based in West Virginia who runs a cadre neo-Nazi group, the National Alliance. Covington has accused Metzger of turning over the names of activists to the Southern Poverty Law Center and using funds earmarked for Metzger's group, the White Aryan Resistance, on a hair-piece. The latter charge is true, revealed at Metzger's civil trial in Portland.

Covington is also notorious for having organized a confederation of North Carolina Klan and neo-Nazi organizations calling itself the United Racist Front. Members of the organization attacked an anti-Klan demonstration and murdered five members of the Communist Workers Party in November 1979 in Greensboro, North Carolina.

Covington is an extremely dangerous neo-Nazi who plans on spending the next two years, according to *Searchlight*, "collecting cadres" to form his "International Association of National Socialists" from his new base in Seattle, Washington.

Associated with the violent British neo-fascist organization Combat 18, which uses his Raleigh, North Carolina post office box as its contact address, Covington is implicated in efforts to foment violent attacks against anti-fascist activists. According to *Searchlight*, C18 recently distributed "hit lists" containing the names, addresses, phone numbers, places of work and residences of anti-fascist activists.

Nottinghamptonshire, England police rounded up a number of key British National Party members who had strong links with Combat 18. They were charged as a result of violent physical attacks and telephoned death threats to people whose names and addresses

had appeared on Combat 18 hit lists.

One of the lists seized by the police had been put together from the names and addresses of people who had signed an anti-Nazi petition in Nottinghamptonshire in 1993. A member of the Anti-Nazi League, who had been collecting signatures, was attacked and beaten on his way home. His bag, which contained the petition forms, was stolen.[105]

Combat 18 also formulated a list of U.S.-based anti-racists under the title, "Red Watch." A Combat 18 communique to their American racist counterparts states:

> Red Watch came about with relative ease, the reds were very careless with information in their various reading materials. We went to libraries, searched the letter pages of local pages for reds who had written in, we got their publications. It was endless, the amount of information we gathered with such ease."

Soon thereafter a chapter of the American Front skinhead group based in Northern California reprinted the Red Watch list in their publication, *Voices of Revolution.* Covington is likely to pursue such activities from his new headquarters in Seattle.[106]

NSWPP (Cont.)

Combat 18

Red Watch & The American Front

NSDAP–AO

NSDAP–AO (National Socialist German Workers Party-Overseas Organization).

Registered in Lincoln, Nebraska, as a non-profit corporation in 1972 by Gary "Gerhard" Lauck, the NSDAP-AO has played an important role in Europe aiding the spread of neo-Nazi organizations.[107] The organization represents itself as the reconstructed political unit of Hitler's original NSDAP, or "NAZI Party." According to German author Michael Schmidt, the

> NSDAP is the original name of Hitler's party (National-sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei–National Socialist German Workers' Party); AO stands for Auslands–und Aufbau-Organisation (Foreign and Development Organization).[108]

ance by an NSDAP-AO speaker at an Aryan Nations congress.[109]

NSDAP-AO literature has been distributed in Washington, Idaho and Montanta, but

Gary "Gerhard" Lauck

The NSDAP Represents itself as the reconstructed political unit of Hitler's original NSDAP, or "NAZI Party."

The organization's regular newsletter, the *New Order* is available in at least nine different languages.

Lauck was scheduled to speak at the Aryan Nations World Congress in July 1994 but was replaced by Michael Storm, the first appear-

the main work of this organization is to ship tons of banned neo-Nazi propaganda to Germany every year. Internationally, Lauck's groups is considered to be a major player in the resurgent neo-Nazi movement, but as of yet he has not had much impact in the Northwest.

Michael Strom

Populist Party of Washington State

Populist Party of Washington State

Formed in 1984 by the Liberty Lobby

James "Bo" Gritz
1988 Running mate was neo-Nazi David Duke.

The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan & The Populist Party

Nazi Germany—
A "White Christian Revival."

Cross Burning—
"The light of Christ, dispelling darkness and ignorance."

The Populist Party was formed in 1984 by the Liberty Lobby, perhaps the most influential outlet for anti-Semitism and far-right conspiracy theories in the United States.[110] Created to serve as a vehicle for white supremacists to enter electoral politics, the party's first chair, Robert Weems, was a well-known Klan leader from Mississippi. Numerous board members and officials had, and continue to have, strong relationships with American neo-Nazism.[111]

James "Bo" Gritz was selected as the party's vice-presidential choice in 1988 at a convention in Pennsylvania.[112] His running mate was Populist Party presidential candidate David Duke, the notorious neo-Nazi and Klan leader from Louisiana. Gritz rescinded his nomination a few weeks after the convention to run for political office in his home state of Nevada.

Throughout 1991-92, the Populist Party of Washington State, in existence since 1984, came increasingly under the control of the Northwest Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Kim Badynski, a national executive committee member of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, based in Harrison, Arkansas under the leadership of veteran racist leader, Tom Robb, had become active in the state party after moving to Washington state in 1987 from Chicago, Illinois.[113] By 1988, he had attained the position of Sergeant at Arms within the Populist Party of Washington State. In 1991 and 1992, Badynski was the state party's representative to the national governing body, attending conventions in California and New Jersey respectively. Badynski has sat on the state party's executive committee since 1988.[114]

Badynski's grip on the party was solidified in 1991 with the rise of neo-Nazi Harry Schmidt to the position of state chair. Schmidt has echoed the Klan political line in testimony before several congressional committees, referring to the Nazi swastika as the "earliest Christian symbol" and Klan cross-burnings as "a Christian practice."[115] Badynski and National Knights leader Robb have expressed these very same themes, describing Nazi Germany as a "white Christian revival" and cross-burnings as symbols of "the light of Christ, dispelling darkness and ignorance."[116]

National Knights leader Thom Robb believes that political space in America has opened up for white supremacists. In his internal newsletter, *Robb's Victory Report*, he advocates training Klan members in electoral politics so as to take advantage of this "window of opportunity."

He states, "...[W]e need people getting experience in political work for the day when OUR people are in positions to run for office."[117] Robb advises Klan members to keep their Klan ties "confidential," even referring to these activists as "sleepers."[118]

> You must remember that those who are blue collar workers will for the most part be unable to move into that "circle." But those of you who are successful business people, who perhaps are in the professions will be able to move as sleepers up into the party ranks. You will be forced to keep your Klan affliction [sic] private, but will, as a result, start preparing the way.[119]

Robb's goal in placing sleepers into mainstream parties is to provide leverage for Klan members who seek the party's nomination. He writes,

> ...[W]hen Klan member Joe Doe runs for office in your state, you as gate keeper will simply take the position that you believe the political process should be open for everyone and though you may not necessarily support his political views you do believe that he has a right to express those views and therefore you vote in favor of allowing him to have ballot access on the party ticket.[120]

Besides holding the position of chair for the state party, Schmidt was voted a member of the National Populist Party's executive com-

mittee in 1993.

The remaining three state officers hail from the Klan dominated Pierce/Kitsap chapter of the party—the state party's most radical county affiliate. Badynski, the Grand Dragon of the Northwest Knights of the Ku Klan has held the national committeeman position for five years, while Bence has long served as the party's secretary/treasurer.

Mark Downey is a recent addition to the slate of state party officers, though he is a long-time Populist Party activist. Downey is a close associate of Badynski and a hard-core neo-Nazi sympathizer who veils his Hitler worship behind the religious veneer of Christian Identity. Badynski, Downey and Schmidt have all attended gatherings to celebrate the birthday of Adolf Hitler.[121]

The neo-Nazi domination of the state party is only partially mirrored in the leadership at the county level. The county chairpersons for the state party are listed as:

Homer Brand (King),
Mark Downey (Pierce/Kitsap),
Bill Renfro (Snohomish),
Howard Schaeffer (Cowlitz),
Herbert Weekly (Wakiakum),
Joseph Burnett (Chelan),
Bob Lynds (Stevens), and
Hazel Lindstrom (Adams).

Homer Brand was a former leader in the Duck Club, the Christian Patriot group linked to the 1985 murder of the Goldmark family in Seattle. David Rice, who brutally bludgeoned the Goldmarks to death, had attended Duck Club meetings where he became convinced that the Goldmarks were Jewish Communists, though they were neither Jewish nor communists. Brand was the party's candidate for Attorney General in 1992.

While promoting the candidacy of James "Bo" Gritz for president in 1992, the state party distributed a platform brochure that contained the following positions.

On the issue of immigration, the party claims that,

> The United States is being overrun by both legal and illegal immigrants. The current wave of illegals is helping to transform America into a Third World country.[122]

Populist Party of Washington Officers

As reported in the January 1994 edition of the *Populist Observer*, the national newspaper of the Populist Party, the state officers of the Populist Party of Washington are:

Chair:
Harry Schmidt (Seattle)

Vice-chair:
Mark Downey (Puyallup)

Secretary/Treasurer:
Barbara Bence (Kitsap County)

National Committeeman:
K.A. (Kim) Badynski (Tacoma)

The state party also supported the idea that polices such as affirmative action are a ploy foisted upon middle-class Americans by a ruling elite. White Americans have suffered because

> a vengeful civil rights industry, together with the media and government, has institutionalized "affirmative action," quotas, racial preferences in education admissions and job promotions, and other racist programs.[123]

The national platform for the party also advises that, "while discrimination against minority groups still occurs, most discrimination today is against European-Americans."[124]

And finally the party,

> rejects the promotion of homosexuality as a legitimate "lifestyle," and the ongoing attempt to make homosexuals a protected "minority" entitled to special rights and privileges. Similarly, we reject special rights and privileges for feminists, and recognize feminism as a bitter ideology that alienates men and women from each other and has weakened the family unit.[125]

Populist Party of Washington State

Pierce/Kitsap chapter of the Populist Party— The Party's most radical chapter.

Homer Brand

Murder of the Goldmark Family

A Vengeful Civil Rights Industry

"Most discrimination today is against European-Americans."

White Aryan Resistance

White Aryan Resistance (WAR)

Tom Metzger Television repairman by trade.

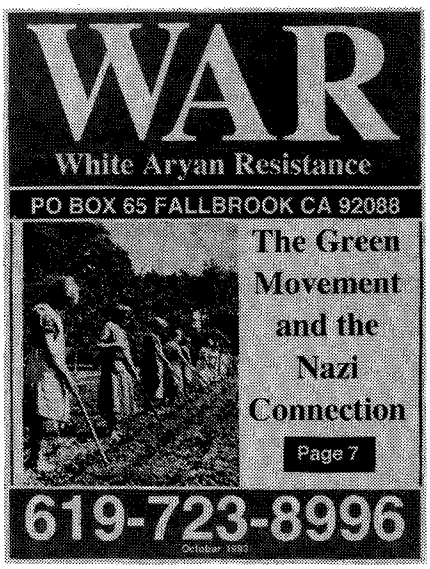
Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan

Klan Border Patrol

Race & Reason Cable Television Program 51 Cities in 20 States

The *WAR* Tabloid Broke new ground in the racist movement as *the* publication for skinheads, complete with a viciously racist cartoonist.

A television repairman by trade, Tom Metzger has a long history of far right activity dating back to the 1960s when he was a member of the John Birch Society. Before heading up the California-based White Aryan Resistance (WAR), Metzger was a Grand Dragon of a Ku Klux Klan faction and he worked closely with neo-Nazi David Duke when the two set up a "Klan Border Patrol" in California, an armed effort to terrorize Mexicans and other Latin Americans seeking entry into the United States.



Like most experienced white supremacist organizers, Metzger has experimented with building mass movements. He established a Klan chapter at Camp Pendleton Marine Base, South of Los Angeles, during the mid-1970's. The Ku Klux Klan presence there generated violence directed at African-American marines. He later ran for elective office as a Republican, then a Democrat, even winning a primary in California in the early 1980s, before he was censured by Democratic Party leadership.

In the mid-1980s Metzger turned away from patriotic expressions of white supremacist philosophy as commonly promoted by the main Klan groups to a more open identification with neo-fascism.

Metzger's organization, WAR, began producing episodes of a program intended for cable television distribution titled "Race and Reason" and a tabloid, *WAR*, that began to solicit a base of support among the growing racist skinhead subculture.

More than any veteran neo-Nazi leader, Tom Metzger, together with his activist son, John, are respected by racist skinheads. Since 1988 the Metzger's have aided a variety of skinhead groups active in the Pacific Northwest including East Side White Pride,[126] the American Front, (Seattle and Portland), and Southern Oregon Skinheads, a racist skinhead organization active during 1989-1992.

Additionally, the *WAR* tabloid has been distributed on the doorsteps and in the mailboxes of more Northwest cities and towns than any other racist publication. Not surprisingly, the *WAR* newspaper probably enjoys the largest circulation among racist skinheads of any movement publication in the United States. With racist music tape cassettes, viciously bigoted cartoons, and articles that feature young women activists, imprisoned members of the neo-Nazi terrorist group, the Order, national socialists from Europe, Japan and Canada and a literary style that is deliberately juvenile, the paper has continued to appear several times a year since 1983.

Metzger is one of the most resilient national leaders in the white supremacist movement today. He and his organization White Aryan Resistance have overcome scandals that would have debilitated or destroyed other leaders. He was implicated in the activities of the terrorist organization the Order and the following Fort Smith trials but was never charged. In 1990 both father and son lost a $12.5 million civil judgment in the death of Mulageta Seraw at the hands of three WAR influenced skinheads in Portland, Oregon. On a more personal basis he has outlived his wife of many years, Cathy, who died in 1992, as well as the revelations that money given to WAR was

Documenting a Decade of Hate

used for his personal expenses. Lastly, he has withstood allegations that the WAR hotline was used to bring California-based Fourth Reich skinheads into contact with an FBI informant that infiltrated the Church of the Creator.

Ideologically, Metzger is a proponent of Third Positionism, also known as "Strasserism," a variant of National Socialism that promotes class struggle against white elites. Third Positionism—which takes its name from the claim that it is an alternative to communism and capitalism—is a significant force in contemporary European neo-Nazism but is treated with disdain by most American neo-Nazis, Christian Patriots and Identity followers. For instance, the Aryan Nations' publication *Calling Our Nation* has reprinted an article from the British neo-Nazi magazine *Gothic Ripples* that attacked "Strasserism."[127] Metzger is also an internationalist, with significant contacts in Canada and Europe. Both Tom and John Metzger have made trips to Japan, Canada and Germany in recent years.

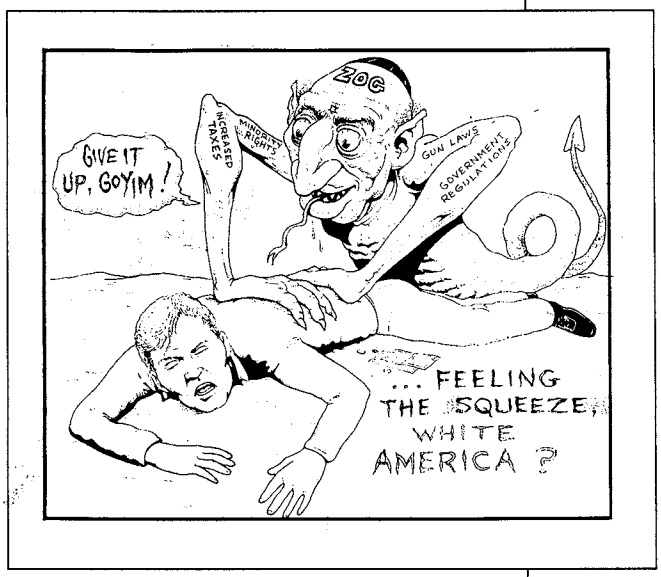
Each issue of the *WAR* tabloid features a full page description of the various political positions of the organization. Metzger rejects Middle Eastern and Asian derived religions, including Christianity, as well as "God given or natural rights [and] participation in foreign armed conflict except for the protection of the race."[128] In Metzger's hypothetical neo-Nazi state, abortion would be permitted for women of color, but discouraged (although not banned) for White women. As for allies, Metzger claims that they include any group working for racial separation, including people of color. Metzger is above all else, a secular, racial determinist.

In a recent *WAR* article, Dennis Mahon, an Oklahoma *WAR* corespondent, explains the difference between the politics of WAR and the rest of the American right wing. In an article titled "What's All This C.R.A.P.," Mahon writes:

> By the "Movement" we mean the activities and ideology of most Judeo-Christian, Right-Wing, Anti-Communist, Patriotic groups (C.R.A.P.). The CRAP usually consists of most Klan groups, patriotic christian [sic] churches, patriotic veterans groups, and so on. By Aryan or White Resistance, we mean groups like White Aryan Resistance, National Alliance, Church of the Creator, skinhead groups, and some radical white survivalist groups.[129]

Metzger and former Aryan Nations organizer Louis Beam have become advocates of "leaderless resistance," a strategy emphasizing the formation of small units of terrorists that can more effectively avoid detection and penetration by authorities, strike quickly and disperse, and safeguard, to some extent, the political leadership of the movement. Leaderless resistance is counterposed to more "mass-movement" type actions that require large memberships and a formal leadership.

In leaderless resistance, centralized decision making structures are replaced by diffuse education, with bomb-making manuals, assassination handbooks, and intelligence data on anti-racists serving as the curriculum available anonymously through mail order outfits and computer bulletin boards. Racists are encouraged to form their own, one to five person units and choose their own targets without formal direction from recognized leaders in the movement. Rather than attend meetings that can be monitored and rallies that can be broken up, racist skinheads are encouraged to act out as individual warriors.



White Aryan Resistance (Cont.)

Third Position

"Leaderless Resistance"

Dennis Mahon On "Conservatives"—
"Judeo-Christian, Right-Wing, Anti-Communist, Patriot Groups."

Notes for Pages 2.3 - 2.18

The Jewish Conspiracy

Racial Purity

Racist Skinheads

Skinhead Style & History

The Ku Klux Klan

Neo-Nazis

Anti-Christian White Supremacists

A Legacy of Violence

American Front

Asatru Alliance

Church of the Creator

Church of Jesus Christ Christian-Aryan Nation

Chapter 1

Endnotes

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2 Shelly Shapiro, *Truth Prevails—Demolishing Holocaust Denial: the End of "The Leuchter Report"* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation and Holocaust Survivors & Friends in Pursuit of Justice, 1990), p.1, (hereafter *Truth Prevails*).
3 Rick E. Cooper, *NSV Report* (October-December 1987), published by National Socialist Vanguard, P.O. Box 328, The Dalles, Oregon 97058.
4 *Calendar Magazine* (January 1-15, 1989), p.5.
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9 Ibid, p.50.
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11 Stimely was the editor of Carto's *Journal of Historical Review* from 1980-1982, before he split with the elder neo-Nazi.
12 America Front, flyer titled "White Workers Who's on Your Side?" (distributed in Portland, Oregon, May 1991).
13 Albany *Democrat-Herald*, April 20, 1992.
14 Albany *Democrat-Herald*, March 12, 1992.
15 Sweet Home *New Era*, June 17, 1992.
16 Flyer distributed to Sweet Home, Oregon students entitled, "Hey Whitey!" (Portland, Oregon: American Front, undated [circa 1992]).
17 Sweet Home *New Era*, June 17, 1992.
18 *The Oregonian*, October 15, 1992.
19 Asatru Alliance, *Vor Tru*, no. 49, (Summer 2243 Runic Era [Summer 1993]), published by Asatru Alliance, P.O. Box 961 Payson, Arizona 85547.
20 Asatru Alliance of Independent Kindreds, "Formational Kindreds of the Asatru Alliance," *Vor Tru*, no. 52 (Summer 2244 Runic Era [Summer 1994]).
21 Asatru Alliance, *Vor Tru*, no. 49, (Summer 2243 Runic Era [Summer 1993]).
22 Ibid.
23 Ibid. Note *Mankind Quarterly* is a pseudo-academic journal published by racist Roger Pearson.
24 Thor Sannhet, *Asatru: Questions and Answers* (Asatru Alliance, circa 1993).
25 Robert Ward, *The Fifth Path* (Spring 1992).
26 *Searchlight, no.* 231 (September 1994).
27 Richard Butler, *Calling Our Nation*, no. 67 (circa 1992).
28 This strategy, sometimes referred to as the "Northwest Territorial Imperative," is not universally held in the movement, but it has been steadfastly clung to by Butler and others since they decided it was the best attainable solution to their perceived need for a "homeland." The Territorial Imperative, also referred to as the 10% Solution, apparently originated at a 1984 meeting of white supremacists held at the church of the late Bob Miles in Cohoctah, Michigan. The states that would comprise the "Aryan Nation" include those of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Wyoming, and Montana.
29 Richard Butler, "One Army," *Calling Our Nation*, no. 65, (circa 1991), p.29, emphasis in original.
30 Aryan Nations, "Platform for the Aryan National State" (Hayden Lake, Idaho: Aryan Nations, undated [circa 1992]).
31 Ibid.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid, p.61-62.
34 Ibid, p.62.
35 Ibid, p.67.
36 *Silent Brotherhood*, 97-220, passim.
37 Ibid. See also, Thomas Martinez and John Guinther, *Brotherhood of Murder* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1988), Introduction, passim.

38 Thomas Martinez and John Guinther, *Brotherhood of Murder* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1988), hereafter *Brotherhood.*

39 Center for Democratic Renewal, "A New 'Order' Bombs Idaho Buildings," The *Monitor*, no. 5 (December 1986), p.1.

40 *Chicago Tribune*, July 7, 1991.

41 *Oregonian*, May 31, 1991.

42 Carl Franklin, "Report to the Membership," (Hayden Lake, Idaho: Church of Jesus Christ Christian–Aryan Nations, January 10, 1992), p.4.

43 Eyewitness reports.

44 Floyd Cochran operates from New York state with "Education & Vigilance," P.O. Box 1136, Dryden, New York 13053.

45 *Colville Statesman Examiner*, July 8, 1992

46 The American Front is a racist skinhead organization based in Portland, Oregon. The group follows a version of neo-Nazism that is sometimes referred to as "Strasserism" or "Third Position National Socialism." Proponents argue that white laborers are the vanguard of the white supremacist movement and must fight white elites who have betrayed their people, in addition to more traditional enemies. More staid neo-Nazis are sometimes distrustful of these radicals within the movement, believing them to secretly harbor communist sympathies.

47 Eyewitness reports put the attendance at the 1991 Congress at nearly 300 and this number is generally assumed to be the base level of attendance for the event to be considered a success.

48 Eyewitness report.

49 Eyewitness report.

50 Southern Poverty Law Center, "Leadership Shift Marks Aryan National Congress," *Klanwatch Intelligence Report*, no.68 (August 1993), p.18.

51 Carl Franklin, "Letter to Supporters and Friends," (Noxon, Montana: Church of Jesus Christ Christian of Montana, August 27, 1993).

52 Ibid; also Carl Franklin, *The Cornerstone* (August 1993 & September 1993).

53 Carl Franklin, Letter to the Editor, *Log Trucker* (December 1993), p.6.

54 Joshua Von Vulcan, *Seed of the Woman* (Noxon, Montana: Four Horsemen Press, 1993).

55 Southern Poverty Law Center, "Aryan National Congress Focuses on Revolutionary Tactics," *Klanwatch Intelligence Report*, no. 74 (August 1994), p.8.

56 NSDAP-AO, *The New Order* (September/October 1994), p.5.

57 Southern Poverty Law Center, "Aryan National Congress Focuses on Revolutionary Tactics," *Klanwatch Intelligence Report*, no. 74 (August 1994), p.8.

58 The NSDAP-AO touts itself as the overseas component of the original German National Socialist Workers Party, the NSDAP. It is a leading provider of propaganda and material support to leaders in the neo-Nazi movement in Germany, promoting the resurrection of the Nazi party in eight different language versions of its newspaper *The New Order*. Headed by Lincoln, Nebraska resident Gary "Gerhard" Lauck, in the United States the group focuses on distributing and promoting racist cable television programs and fundraising. In September, just two months after the Aryan World Congress, Aryan Nations promoters distributed copies of *The New Order* in Coeur d' Alene.

59 NSDAP-AO, *The New Order* (September/October 1994), p.5.

60 Dennis L. Hilligoss, memo to "All Oregon Supporters and Members," (220 Timber Lane, Grants Pass, Oregon 97526: Aryan Nations).

61 Church of Jesus Christ Christian–Aryan Nations, "Aryan Youth Action Adolf Hitler Memorial" flyer (Hayden Lake, Idaho: Church of Jesus Christ Christian–Aryan Nations, undated [circa March 1994]). The flyer also lists the following activities for the weekend: "Youth Speeches, Survival Classes, Skinhead Bands, Aryan Olympics, Swastika Lighting, Book and Flag Burning."

62 Rick E. Cooper, *NSV Report*, Vol. 6, no. 2., p.8.

63 According to Cooper attendees included Kim Badynski, Rick Cooper, Richard Butler, Thom Robb (National leader of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan), the late Ken Stoddard, previously of the Coquille, Oregon-based Aryan Identity Fellowship, Richard Clermont of Idaho, Larry McCurry of Thompson Falls, Montana, Terry Long (Canadian head of the Aryan Nations), John Ross Taylor (a leader in Canada's Western Guard), Charles Howarth of Noxon, Montana, Louis Beam and Wyatt Brooks, whom Cooper describes as a skinhead from Fort Lewis, Washington (*NSV Report* vol. 7, no. 2).

64 Center for Democratic Renewal, *Weekly Update* (March 12, 1990).

65 Rick E. Cooper, *NSV Report*, vol. 8, no. 2, p.2.

66 Ibid.

67 *Aryan Research Fellowship*, vol. 6, no. 2 & 3, p.10.

68 *Seattle Times*, May 15, 1990.

69 Spokane *Spokesman-Review*, May 16, 1990. The Weekly Update (Center for Democratic Renewal [October 22, 1990]) reported that the three were found guilty of planning to bomb a gay bar in Seattle and of possession of another bomb. Additionally, Nelson and Winslow were also found guilty of using interstate commerce in a conspiracy and having firearms during the commission of a crime.

70 Spokane *Spokesman-Review*. May 16, 1990; interview with Leonard Zeskind.

71 Southern Poverty Law Center, *Klanwatch Intelligence* Report, no. 73 (June 1994).

72 Eyewitness account.

73 The idea, backed by the Aryan Nations and others, that the Pacific Northwest is the last place in America where a "White Homeland" can reasonably be established.

74 Kim Badynski, *Klan Kourage*, (undated [circa 1989]), p.1, published by the Northwest Knights of the Ku Klux

Notes for Pages 2.18 - 2.23

Church of Jesus Christ Christian-Aryan Nations (cont.)

Aryan Nations Attempts to Modernize

Leadership Crisis

Aryan Youth Action Conference

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

Notes for Pages 2.23 - 2.32

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Cont.)

The Klan In Action

National Socialist Front/ Northwest Concern

National Socialist Vanguard

National Socialist White People's Party (NSWPP)

NSDAP-AO

Klan, P.O. Box 18116, Spokane, Washington 99208.
75 Eyewitness account of 1991 and 1992 Populist Party conventions.
76 Schmidt presented testimony before the Washington State Senate Law and Justice Committee, December 6, 1991.
77 Center for Democratic Renewal, *The Monitor* (May 1992), p. 12.
78 Tom Robb, *Robb's Victory Report* (February 1, 1992), p. 2, emphasis in original.
79 Tom Robb, *Robb's Victory Report* (March 1, 1992), p. 2.
80 Tom Robb, *This Is The Klan!* (Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. undated, [circa 1992]), emphasis in original.
81 Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, *The Klan Splits: A Radical Breakaway* (New York: ADL, 1994), p.1.
82 Ibid, p.3.
83 *Nordwesten Beobachter*, no. 2 (July 31, 1991).
84 *Nordwesten Beobachter*, no. 3 (August 30, 1991).
85 Rick E. Cooper, *NSV Report*, vol. 10, no. 3 (July-September 1992).
86 Rick E. Cooper, *NSV Report* (January-March 1992), p. 7.
87 "Affidavit of Probable Cause," filed November 27, 1992 in the District Court of the State of Oregon for the County of Multnomah, booking no. 289793, arresting officer E. Reiter.
88 "Demand that the Court Instruct Jury of It's Right To Determine the Law As Well As the Facts," entered by the defendant, Derek Stenzel, January 6, 1993, case no. 92-11-37070.
89 "Demand for Change of Venue Due to Occult Symbolism of the Sandstone Columns At the Entrance of Multnomah County Justice Center," entered by the defendant, Derek Stenzel, February 4, 1993, case no. 92-11-37070.
90 *Oregonian*, April 21, 1992.
91 *Oregonian*, July 18, 1992.
92 Stenzel was photographed at the event, standing next to Christian Patriot Association leader Richard Flowers, the campaign manager for James "Bo" Gritz's 1992 presidential bid. Stenzel's mother-in-law, Vera Fisk, was a volunteer organizer for the Gritz campaign in Multnomah county.
93 Northwest Concern, *Northwest Imperative*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Summer 1994), P.O. Box 5892 Portland, Oregon 97208.
94 Northwest Concern, *Northwest Imperative*, vol. 1, no. 1 (April 20, 1994).
95 Ibid.
96 Northwest Concern, *Northwest Imperative*, vol. 1, no. 2. (Summer 1994).
97 National Workers League, *Plexus*, no. 20 (August 1994), P.O. Box 642376, Omaha, Nebraska 68164-8376.
98 Members of East Side White Pride murdered an Ethiopian student, Mulugeta Seraw, in Portland, Oregon on November 11, 1988. Three members of the skinhead organization were convicted of the murder. The Southern Poverty Law Center successfully sued the three, Steven Strasser, Ken Mieske and Kyle Brewster, together with Tom and John Metzger in a civil suit tried during October of 1990. The individuals and Metzger's organization, the White Aryan Resistance were held liable for the death of Seraw in civil court and ordered to pay $12.5 million.
99 Coalition for Human Dignity interview with Floyd Cochran, February 25, 1994.
100 Rick E. Cooper, *NSV Report*, vol. 1, no. 1 (January-March 1983).
101 Ibid.
102 Rick E. Cooper, *NSV Report*, vol. 3, no. 2 (April-June 1985).
103 Rick E. Cooper, *NSV Report*, vol. 6, no. 4 (October-December 1988).
104 Sweet Home *New Era*, June 17, 1992.
105 *Searchlight* (April 1993), p.14.
106 American Front *The Voice of Revolution* Issue no. 3 (circa 1993). P.O. Box 989 Arcata, California 95521.
107 Southern Poverty Law Center, *Klanwatch Intelligence Report*, no. 66 (May 1993), p.8.
108 Michael Schmidt, *The New Reich* (New York: Pantheon, 1993), p.4.
109 Leonard Zeskind, *Searchlight*, no. 231 (September 1994), p.23.
110 The Liberty Lobby is a Washington D.C.-based organization headed up by Willis Carto, a leading figure on the fringes of the American Far right since the 1950s. Carto stands at the center of a network of racist, anti-Semitic organizations and projects that include a weekly tabloid newspaper, The *Spotlight*, the flagship publication of the racist right in the United States, and the Populist Action Committee. Until recently he was also the power behind the Populist Party, Noontide Press (a racist publishing arm) and the Institute for Historical Review, a pseudo-scholarly outfit that specializes in denying the historical fact of the Nazi Holocaust against European Jewry. Since 1992 Carto has lost control of the latter three projects to rival far-right activists, but remains an influential figure within the white supremacist movement.
111 See *Ballot Box Bigotry: David Duke and the Populist Party* (Atlanta: Center for Democratic Renewal, March 1989).
112 Detailed coverage of the convention was presented in the *Populist Observer* (April 1988, p.3). Main speakers also included James K. Warner head of the neo-Nazi Christian Defense League and Lawrence Patterson, editor of *Criminal Politics*, a high-brow anti-Semitic monthly magazine.
113 Before moving to Washington, Badynski had been Grand Dragon of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in Illinois.
114 Eyewitness account of 1991 and 1992 Populist Party conventions.

115 Harry Schmidt, testimony before the Washington State Senate Law and Justice Committee, December 6, 1991.
116 Center for Democratic Renewal, *The Monitor* (May 1992), p. 12.
117 *Robb's Victory* Report, (February 1, 1992), p. 2.
118 Ibid.
119 Ibid.
120 Ibid.
121 Eyewitness reports.
122 Populist Party of Washington State, "Bo Gritz for President," pamphlet, undated, (circa July 1992).
123 Ibid.
124 Populist Party, "Platform of the Populist Party," *Populist Observer* (October 1991).
125 Ibid.
126 Members of East Side White Pride murdered an Ethiopian student, Mulugeta Seraw, in Portland, Oregon on November 11, 1988. Three members of the skinhead organization were convicted of the murder. The Southern Poverty Law Center successfully sued the three, Steven Strasser, Ken Mieske and Kyle Brewster, together with Tom and John Metzger in a civil suit tried during October of 1990. The individuals and Metzger's organization, the White Aryan Resistance were held liable for the death of Seraw in civil court and ordered to pay $12.5 million.
127 Aryan Nations, *Calling Our Nation*, no. 61.
128 White Aryan Resistance, *WAR* (June 1994), p.12.
129 White Aryan Resistance, *WAR* (June 1994), p.6.

Notes For Pages 2.32 - 2.35

Populist Party of Washington State

White Aryan Resistance

Chapter 2

Patriots

Tax Protesters, Populists & the New World Order

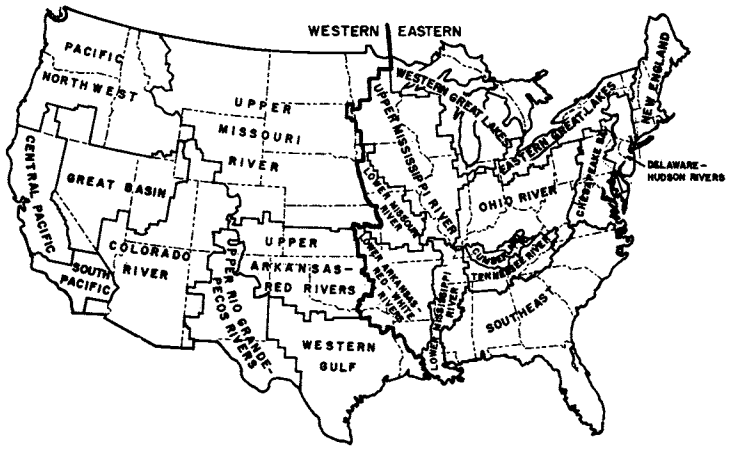
Introductory Narrative	2.3
Profiles in Populism:	2.8
Association de Libertas	2.8
Barrister's Inn School of Common Law	2.10
Martin J. "Red" Beckman	2.11
Christian Patriot Association	2.13
Concerned Citizens of Idaho	2.16
Fully Informed Jury Association	2.18
Golden Mean Team	2.19
James "Bo" Gritz–Center for Action	2.21
Medford Citizens Bar Association	2.28
National Commodity and Barter Association	2.30
Pilot Connection	2.33
Republic v. Democracy Redress	2.36
State Citizens Service Center	2.38
Survival Center	2.39
Endnotes	2.41

This is the internal capture of the U.S.

The proposed Potomac River Basin Compact —
a new government of America,
operated by citizens from another country — by 1975!

The Master Land Plan of America – already in place
whose hidden effect is,
CONCENTRATION CAMPS behind BARRIERS.

·WATER RESOURCE REGIONS·



These 22 river-basins will replace the States as governments. In 1968, U. S. Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall said that 22 river-basin commissions had been appointed.

THE PROPOSED POTOMAC COMPACT WAS

Adopted innocently by Va. and Md. in 1970;

Rejected with suspicion by W. Va. in 1971;

Now before Penna. legislative committees;

Goes to Congress early in 1973; then back to W. Va.

A Potomac River Basin Compact became law in 1970, creating the Potomac Valley Conservancy District, giving the Interstate Commission on the Potomac "powers in abatement and prevention of pollution and planning for utilization, conservation and development of water and associated land resources."

Why another compact to do the same thing?

HOW AMERICA IS BEING CAPTURED.

Rather than fight 50 strong State governments, America has been broken into 22 river-basin systems (see map) that will fragment the States and reassemble them under river-basin commissions whose members will have Americanized names but who will be citizens from another country.

Reservoirs are being placed far up the tributaries surrounded by SCS supporting dams, all taking excessive amounts of land for "parks" and "recreation areas." Flood-plains up to the 500-year level and "river zones," P-Art. 9, will take land along the tributaries. Every river is being nationalized into parks, requiring lots of land eventually. The Master Land Plan, now before Congress, proposes acquisition of deltas, estuaries, wetlands and islands.

Thus, each river-system goes under foreign control. Susquehanna sources say these will be electrified. This will prevent people from reaching water and force them to obtain "water-use permits" by which the foreign commissioners can control every person, industry, city, sewer, power and water plant, fisheries, and all river, harbor and high seas traffic out of U. S. ports — and world trade.

Original Posse Comitatus Document from the mid-1970s.

Patriots: Tax Protesters, Populists & the New World Order

The Conspiracy
In Christian Patriot Ideology there is a centralized conspiracy to destroy white, Christian America.

Preparedness Expo '94

Dan Chittock

Jack McLamb
Police Against the New World Order

Locus of *The Conspiracy*

The Global System

Becoming an educated Patriot; learning about the extent of *The Conspiracy.*

Located in the shadow of the Space Needle in Seattle's trendy Queen Anne district, the Seattle Center is about the last place you might expect to find a gathering of Christian Patriots, survivalists, anti-Semitic conspiracy theorists and racist book dealers. Yet each year since 1992 Utah-based Patriot entrepreneur Dan Chittock has made this unlikely location a stop for his Preparedness Expos.[1]

Patriots and paranoids from around the region have made it a point to attend.

They come to stock up on dehydrated foods, survival gear and alternative health products;[2] they come to purchase racist and anti-Semitic books and audio-visual productions;[3] and, most of all, they come to hear about *The Conspiracy.*[4]

Retired Arizona police officer Jack McLamb, a leader in the Christian Patriot movement, explained *The Conspiracy* in a lecture delivered at the Seattle Preparedness Expo '94:

> Many people that we communicate with quite often, every week as a matter of fact, try to pinpoint "The Group" or "The Organization" that is running the world program for this utopian government that they're trying to set up. And we hear all kinds of names: it's the Trilateral Commission, or it's the Masons, or it's the Bilderburgers, or it's this or it's that group.[5]

Fortunately for those poor Patriots trying to make sense of this plethora of name brand enemies, McLamb is ready with an explanation.

"A friend of mine," he begins, ". . . a Mr. David Gamier" was an agent with the New York Police Department who went undercover in "organizations like the Symbionese Liberation Army and communist front organizations in the '60s."

"An interesting thing about David Gamier," McLamb continued, "is he had a photographic memory." With his prodigious memory the alleged Mr. Gamier supposedly "became a danger to the government," because he remembered all of the people, places, dates and things that "were done in the United States that were unlawful and immoral by people in our own government."

According to McLamb:

> . . . David Gamier became what's called today an educated Patriot. Within a short time he knew all the global players that were bringing us together as a world government.

Holding up a hand-drawn poster crowded with circles and rectangles connected by a dense network of lines, the former Arizona police officer continued his story:

> And this was about ten years ago that he drew this poster. And what he did was from his knowledge and studies of years is he listed over one hundred and ten organizations that were part of putting together the global society in the world. And he sat down with a pen one night and he drew this rough draft of all these organizations—now you can't read the names on this, but they go back to the 11th Century—and Dave told me that this is only one tenth of the organizations that have been part of setting up the global system in this world.

According to McLamb, the mistake often

The Northwest Imperative:

A Luciferian Plan

Utopia

The New World Order: For Patriots the NWO is a demonic plot to take away the rights of white, Christian Americans.

Democracy vs. Republic

"Mobocracy" For Patriots democracy—rule of the majority—is a tool of the "Globalists" to take away rights under the U.S. Constitution.

Literalism In Patriot circles, both the Bible & the Constitution are to be interpreted literally.

Civil Rights vs. Constitutional Rights

made by Patriots is to cast the net too narrowly. The list of enemies is long, and Patriots are faced with nothing less than "a conspiracy that goes back to the Garden of Eden: a diabolical plan—a Luciferian plan—that's been going on since the very days that man was created."[6]

Against the New World Order

With their emphasis on individual sovereignty, government abuse of power and theonomic Constitutional interpretations, Christian Patriots are an enigma to most outsiders. Combining puzzling legal theory with ultra-patriot mythology and libertarian sentiment, the resulting mixture is both volatile and potent in communities across America. But the libertarian veneer of Christian Patriotism is little more than camouflage.

At the heart of the Christian Patriot world view is the ideal of a white, Christian nation purged of supposedly corrupting alien elements. Based on literal, albeit highly selective, interpretations of both the Bible and the Constitution, Christian Patriot ideology glorifies the "sovereign citizen" living independently in a Christian Republic. Patriots imagine an America of autonomous "Freemen" living virtuously with their families, free of taxes and regulation, subject only to "godly" laws enforced by the county sheriff.

Standing in the way of this Christian Patriot utopia is *The Conspiracy*—an anti-Christian plot run alternately by Jews, Zionists, atheistic communists, international bankers, the Federal Reserve, the Rothschild and/or Rockefeller families, the United Nations, the Masons, the Illuminati and so on ad nauseam.[7] The tools of *The Conspiracy* are race-mixing, homosexuality, civil rights, income tax, abortion and gun control. In fact almost any action or policy of the federal government, the United Nations, the media, women, people of color, the state of Israel, gay and lesbian organizations or other suspect groups is interpreted as being part of *The Conspiracy*.

Democracy vs. Republic

Christian Patriot ideologues disingenuously argue that the United States is not a "democracy" but rightfully a "republic"—which is technically correct, but perversely misleading. Employing the same literalism that they apply to the Constitution, Patriots take the baseline definition of "democracy"—rule of the majority—and complain that under such a system individual liberties are subjected to the "whims" of the majority. This they refer to as "mobocracy" or "mob rule." A Republic, by contrast, protects the rights of the individual. In the words of one widely distributed Christian Patriot leaflet:

> A "democracy" is a form of government based solely on the "will of the people at any given time." Whatever the raw majority wants becomes The Law. A democracy by definition, has no system of Constitutional rights to protect the individual from the absolute will of any majority. Wicked people want to take away your Constitutional Rights under a Republic and give you privileges and "civil rights" under a democracy.[8]

The informal concept of "democracy" in the United States, *within the context of a Constitutional Republic,* refers not to absolute majority rule, but to the mechanisms of citizen participation in government, i.e. voting, running for office, lobbying, petitioning and so on *and* to limitations on government through separation of powers, judicial review, rule of law, Constitutional limitations, etc. In short, democracy refers to all of the positive aspects of what Patriots refer to as a "Republic," without setting up a false dichotomy between "civil rights" and "Constitutional rights."[9]

Documenting a Decade of Hate

Armor & Shield

At the Las Vegas Preparedness Expo '93 Christian Patriot leader James "Bo" Gritz delivered a lecture titled: "The Government: How to Take 'em on and Win!"[10] in which he describes how Patriots can free themselves from the need to pay taxes and follow bothersome government regulations. He describes this as donning armor and shield and choosing weapons before going into battle.

Gritz recommends four important steps to prepare for battle:

(1) Acquiring Sovereign or State Citizenship, wherein Patriots attempt to sever all ties to the federal government created by the Fourteenth Amendment or Congressional Acts thereunder;

(2) Using Common Law Trusts, or legal instruments designed to obscure ownership of real and private property and make such property immune to taxation or seizure;

(3) Making use of alternative or Warehouse Banking, combined with ownership of gold and silver, to protect liquid assets;

(4) Para-military training and organizing.

Sovereign Citizenship

Christian Patriots, for the most part, read the Constitution the same way that Christian Fundamentalists read the Bible. They regard the so-called Organic Constitution—the original Constitution and the Bill of Rights—as the only legitimate source of law in the United States. Subsequent amendments are seen as an outgrowth of *The Conspiracy* aimed at undermining the sovereign citizen.

Central to most Christian Patriot arguments is the view that there are two kinds of citizens in the United States—"state citizens" and "Fourteenth Amendment citizens." Often described in explicitly racial terms, white state citizens are said to derive their rights from God. These rights are considered inalienable and embodied in Christian Common Law as recorded in documents such as the Magna Carta, the Declaration of Independence and the Organic Constitution.

Fourteenth Amendment citizens are said to derive their "civil rights" from government. Such rights, being legislated, are considered alienable. They are ultimately thought of as a means of undermining the sovereignty of the state citizen—used, for instance, by the federal government as a means of extending federal power into the states and illegally imposing federal laws to reduce the state citizen to the level of the Fourteenth Amendment citizen.

Organic Constitution

State Citizenship vs. 14th Amendment Citizenship

Amendment XIV of the Constitution of the United States, ratified July 9, 1868

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Equal Protection Under the Law

Taxes and Citizenship

Perhaps the most "populist" aspect of the Christian Patriot movement is embodied in its opposition to taxes, particularly the federal income tax.

There are many tax protesters who are not involved with the Christian Patriot movement, but who share the belief that federal taxation of income is not legal. They argue that the Sixteenth Amendment, which authorizes Congress to "lay and collect taxes on incomes," was illegally passed. Therefore, the income tax is unconstitutional.

Patriots have added their own twist on the question, arguing that even if the Sixteenth Amendment is valid, it does not apply to white

Taxes & Citizens
Patriots argue that white, state citizens are not subject to taxation under the 16th Amendment.

Organic Constitution

Constitutional state citizens, but only to those whom they describe as Fourteenth Amendment citizens. Those outside of the movement may be led to the conclusion that Patriots have difficulty grasping the concept of an *Amendment* to the Constitution, which has not only the same force as the original document, but can change the meaning of the Constitution itself.

To Trust or Not to Trust

Trusts
Legal instruments used to shield assets from taxation and to disguise ownership.

A trust is essentially a legal device, similar to a corporation or a will in many ways, that is designed to shield specific assets or property from seizure by the government or through legal action. Each trust has a beneficiary, the person who actually benefits from or makes use of the property or assets in question, and a trustee who controls and is legally responsible for administering the trust.

Christian Patriot trusts are often set up as a maze, with one trust being held by another, which is controlled by a third, making it difficult to determine who is ultimately in control of the trust and who is legally responsible to pay taxes and comply with any applicable government regulations, the more so if the ultimate trustee is difficult to locate or residing overseas.

Patriot Banking

Warehouse Banking

"Warehouse banks" or "Community Exchanges" are financial schemes arranged by Patriots to obscure financial activity. A typical warehouse bank provides its members with the ability to buy and sell precious metals, write checks, satisfy payrolls and move large sums of cash—all in secrecy. In other words, money laundering. Warehouse bank members endeavor to leave behind no "paper trail" for the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) to follow.

Money Laundering

The theoretical foundation for warehouse banks stems directly from the Christian Patriot understanding that "constitutional citizens" are immune to IRS codes. In effect "alternative banking" allows Patriots to disguise all manner of financial dealings, legal and illegal, including support for movement causes and the purchase of weapons. Warehouse banks are intended to circumvent not only the IRS, but legal accountability of any kind.

Paramilitary Organizing

SPIKE Paramilitary Training

James "Bo" Gritz, a former Army Special Forces commander, has established the most sophisticated paramilitary training program in the Pacific Northwest. His SPIKE (Specially Prepared Individuals for Key Events) program takes Patriots through numerous one day training sessions in which they are taught everything from emergency first aid and food preservation to combat marksmanship and secure communications.

Graduates of the SPIKE program are encouraged to move to one of Gritz's "Christian Covenant Communities" where they can escape the coming apocalypse and defend themselves from government tyranny—i.e. authorities attempting to question or detain Patriots who break the law.

The scope of paramilitary organizing has escalated since the Weaver siege of August 1992, with patriots throughout the region preparing for similar confrontations in the future. But the idea of armed confrontation with federal authorities is as old as the movement itself. One of its earliest organized expressions was the "Posse Comitatus" founded by Henry Beach in Portland, Oregon in 1968.

Posse Comitatus

In the early 1980s the Posse movement quickly spread across the country, advocating the formation of vigilante groups to "help" the sheriff whom they viewed as the highest legal authority. The Posse was strongest in the Midwest farm belt, reaching its pinnacle of belligerency during the farming crisis that swept the region during that time period. As lending institutions foreclosed on thousands of farming operations, and families that had worked the land for generations faced bankruptcy and auctions, the Posse gained recruits. A North Dakota Identity believer, Gordon Kahl, is probably the most famous Posse advocate. Kahl, a notorious anti-Semite, shot and killed a United States marshal and a deputy marshal on a country road in Medina, North Dakota. He was later shot to death in a bloody confrontation with law enforcement in Arkansas, be-

Documenting a Decade of Hate

coming an early martyr for the modern white supremacist movement.[11]

The most recent development in Christian Patriot paramilitarism is the formation of citizen militias. The militias are groups of citizens who claim the right to bear arms under the Second Amendment and contemplate defending "Patriots" like Randy Weaver from future actions of the federal government. For the most part militias are organized and led by hard core Christian Patriots and many of the participants are well known white supremacists.

Conclusion

Christian Patriots constitute the largest, least organized part of the contemporary white supremacist movement in America.[12] No one group or individual commands the loyalty or even the respect of every Patriot. Using convoluted Constitutional and Biblical arguments, Christian Patriots often do not come across as white supremacists. Most hide their bigotry beneath a veneer of pseudo-libertarian ideas and Constitutional literalism.

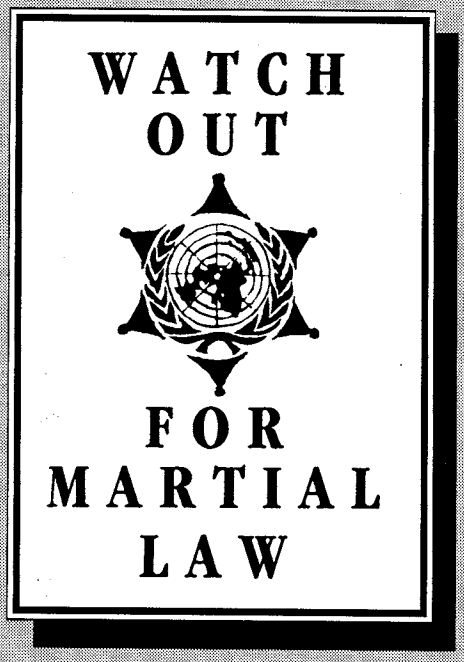
Often a Christian Patriot exterior will conceal a crass racism that emerges only in unguarded moments. For civil and human rights activists and others concerned with human dignity the concern with Christian Patriots is not primarily their opinions. Racism, anti-Semitism, homophobia, sexism and bigotry are, unfortunately, common in American society. What separates Christian Patriots and others active in hate groups from the casual bigot is *political organizing to further bigoted ideals.*

Not all Christian Patriot activity is specifically bigoted, but because Christian Patriots are part of a *social movement* the ultimate goal of which is to create an idealized "white, Christian society," these activities, when effective, are cause for concern.

Under close and cautious scrutiny the conspiracy theories, anti-government tactics, and ideas found among Christian Patriots form an intricate if somewhat inchoate web that stretches from the less radical groups of the Christian and libertarian right to the extreme elements of the violent neo-Nazi underground. This web of ideological and organizational connections binds the far right together, not under any one leader or directed by any one organization, but as a political and social force effecting what Americans believe, think and ultimately, how they act.

Social Movement
Christian Patriots are part of a social movement that puts bigoted ideas into action.

Connections/ Continuum
There is a web of connections linking Patriots with other parts of the movement.



Portion of the song "Hang 'um High" by Carl Klang from the album *Watch Out for Martial Law* (Carl Klang 1994), popular with Christian Patriots.

A bureaucrat woke up one day
with nothing much to do,
He tried to put his street clothes on
but couldn't find his shoe.
The night before, he tied one on
now cobwebs filled his head,
By afternoon he called in sick
and then went back to bed.

Yippie-ie-oh, yippie-ie-aye...
Tax hikes are on the way...

And he said:
Tax 'um, tax 'um, tax 'um
Though it breaks their backs 'um,
Tax 'um where they run, where they hide...
In Winter's freezin weather
If we can't tax their sweater,
We'll try to tax the hair
Off their hide...
My Senator just voted Yes
to pass the Brady Bill...
He thinks that if he takes my guns
it's him that won't get killed...
He doesn't give a hang about
the crimes he helps create,
As long as bribes keep comin' in,
Americans can wait.

Yippie-ie-oh, YIPPIE yah-WEH...
Vengeance is on the way...

It's time we
hang 'um, hang 'um, hang 'um,
'til their toes are danglin'
Stretch those traitor's necks out
Hang 'um high...
Hang 'um high...
Hang 'um high...

Profiles in Populism

Profiles of Selected Christian Patriot Groups Active in the Northwest

The following is an extensive but not exhaustive set of profiles of Christian Patriot organizations and leaders based in or with extensive activities in the Pacific Northwest. Each profile documents and explains the particular ideological positions and tactics taken by the group in question. The profiles also attempt to identify the particular niche that specific organizations fill, collaboration and conflict between organizations, and connections to the larger white supremacist movement.

The profiles contained herein were written with local civil rights activists in mind. Hence each profile, to a certain extent, stands alone containing background material that can be used to formulate initial threat assessments. The result is that information is inevitably repeated. The overall picture of Patriot activity in the region is, of course, best gained by a thorough reading of the entire collection.

Association de Libertas

Association de Libertas

Glen Ambort— State Citizens, meaning white citizens, get nothing from the 13th and 14th Amendments and therefore are not subject to laws and regulations enacted under their authority.

Voluntary Servitude

The Texas-based Association de Libertas promotes a brand of Christian Patriotism which does little to disguise its racist core. A videotape featuring Glen Ambort, a Burkburnett, Texas-based Association spokesman, makes clear the group's racially defined distinction between "state" citizens and "Fourteenth Amendment citizens."[13] Distinguishing white "state citizens" from "blacks and Orientals," Ambort argues that the "state citizen gets nothing from the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments" and subsequently "can have no rights and no duties under" these Amendments.

Fourteenth Amendment citizens, who by contrast received their citizenship under these amendments, *are* subject to "rights and duties" imposed thereunder, specifically meaning that they can legally be taxed. In fact, because the Thirteenth Amendment only abolished "involuntary servitude," Ambort states:

> By electing to stay in the United States [after the Thirteenth Amendment was passed], you can make a great case that slaves were now in voluntary servitude. . . . We know he was in slavery before, nothing freed him... he was still in a condition of voluntary servitude.[14]

In its own convoluted twist on Christian Patriot racism, Association de Libertas argues that white state citizens are "non-resident aliens" of the United States and therefore under no obligation to pay the income tax. Fourteenth Amendment citizens, however, are residents of the United States and subsequently subject to federal taxation.

The Association also argues that because the Thirteenth Amendment left open the possibility of "voluntary servitude" for Fourteenth Amendment citizens, it also opened the possibility of voluntary servitude for those whites who, through "trickery," submit a 1040 tax form to the IRS.

Ambort makes the absurd, pseudo-egalitarian argument that, "until we free the black man" from "voluntary servitude" by abolish-

ing the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments "we ourselves will not be free." His solution to supposed "voluntary servitude" is to constitutionally allow involuntary servitude—i.e. slavery—and to abolish equal protection under the law for all citizens.

Like many Christian Patriot groups, Association de Libertas promotes pseudo-legal techniques for followers to revoke their federal citizenship, return to their state citizen status and "exempt" themselves from the necessity to pay taxes or follow other federal laws. The Association has distributed "how to" materials in Washington, Oregon and Montana.[15]

An advertisement in a late 1992 issue of *The Populist*, the newsletter of the Washington State Populist Party, announces Association de Libertas classes covering "Sovereignty, Revocation of Election, Common Law and the Courts, Contracts and ect. [sic]."[16] The same ad also lists Washington state contacts in the cities of Puyallup, Kent and Des Moines, and Dominic Notter in Medford, Oregon.[17]

A Montana chapter of Association de Libertas is centered in Ravalli County in the Bitteroot Valley of Western Montana. The chapter is headed up by Pinesdale resident Lex Herbert, who in late 1993 led a group of followers to publicly "revoke" their citizenship in a letter to the editor of the Ravalli *Republic*. The letter stated in part, "I, Calvin K. Green," followed by nineteen other names ending with "Lex Herbert,"

> in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, solemnly Publish and Declare my American National Status and rights to emancipate absolute my "res" in trust from the foreign jurisdiction known as the municipal corporation of the District of Columbia, a Democracy. Any and all, past and present political ties implied by operation of law or otherwise in trust with said democracy are hereby dissolved. By this emancipation I return to an estate of primary sovereignty and freedom that pre-exists all government(s).[18]

In September 1993, Herbert was arrested after being pulled over by a Montana Highway patrol officer. Cited for a seat-belt violation, obstructing an officer and failure to display a driver's license, Herbert served four days in jail before being release on $1,100 bail.[19]

Ravalli Republic • September 28, 1993

AMERICAN NATIONAL STATUS

I, Calvin K. Greenup,
Lynda L. Greenup,
Scott G. Greenup,
Laura Greenup,
Shad G. Greenup,
Karen Lynne Miller,
Peter Valentine Miller,
Kelly Marie Hamilton,
Eric Grant Hamilton,
Peggy Ann Lynch,
Louis Patrick Allred,
Loran D. Herbert,
Lori Jo Weidow,
Jesse D. Weidow,
Theordore M. Weidow,
Theordore G. Weidow,
Darrel A. Weidow,
Lex Herbert,

in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, solemnly Publish and Declare my American National Status and rights to emancipate absolute my "res" in trust from the foreign jurisdiction known as the municipal corporation of the District of Columbia, a Democracy. Any and all, past and present political ties implied by operation of law or otherwise in trust with said democracy are hereby dissolved. By this emancipation I return to an estate of primary sovereignty and freedom that pre-exists all governement(s).

I, Calvin K. Greenup,
Lynda L. Greenup,
Scott G. Greenup,
Laura Greenup,
Shad G. Greenup,
Karen Lynne Miller,
Peter Valentine Miller,
Kelly Marie Hamilton,
Eric Grant Hamilton,
Peggy Ann Lynch,
Louis Patrick Allred,
Loran D. Herbert,
Lori Jo Weidow,
Jesse D. Weidow,
Theordore M. Weidow,
Theordore G. Weidow,
Darrel A. Weidow,
Lex Herbert,

have full legal/lawful rights to contract, to own property absolute, and to establish commerce, without said government interference, as guaranteed by the full Bill of Rights, the Ten Amendments to the Constitution for the United States of America, a Republic.

Anyone claiming or causing to bar this emancipation, must present their claims in a court of competent jurisdiction within (30) calaendar days from the date of issuanace of this Notice and Declaration. Failure to assert claims timely will forever constitute a waiver and bar the assertion of said claims by estoppel.

So Done this 10th day of September, 1993

/s/ Calvin K. Greenup, P.O. Box 196, Darby, Montana
Lynda L. Greenup, P.O. Box 196, Darby, Montana
Scott G. Greenup, P.O. Box 356, Darby, Montana
Laura Greenup, P.O. Box 356, Darby, Montana
Shad G. Greenup, P.O. Box 196, Darby, Montana
Karen Lynne Miller, P.O. Box 352, Darby, Montana
Peter Valentine Miller, P.O. Box 256, Darby, Montana
Kelly Marie Hamilton, P.O. Box 352, Darby, Montana
Eric Grant Hamilton, P.O. Box 352, Darby, Montana
Allen Sheridan Hamilton, P.O. Box 153, Darby, Montana
Peggy Ann Lynch, P.O. Box 410063, Pinesdale, Montana
Louis Patrick Allred, P.O. Box 410063, Pinesdale, Montana
Loran D. Herbert, 1008 Hwy 93, Victory, Montana
Dixie Ann Herbert, 1008 Hwy 93, Victory, Montana
Lori Jo Weidow, P.O. Box 410204, Pinesdale, Montana
Jesse D. Weidow, P.O. Box 410204, Pinesdale, Montana

Association de Libertas leader Lex Herbert and followers renounce American citizenship.

Lex Herbert and Followers Renounce American Citizenship

Washington State Populist Party

Dominic Notter
Medford, Oregon

Bitteroot Valley of Western Montana

"By this emancipation I return to an estate of primary sovereignty and freedom that pre-exists all government(s)"

—Lex Herbert

Barrister's Inn

George Gordon

Isabella, Missouri

Boise, Idaho

Medford Citizens Bar Association (MCBA)

Gordon— We won WWII, hence we should have the right to be as racist and bigoted as we see fit.

Barrister's Inn School of Common Law

George Gordon, the founder of the Barrister's Inn School of Common Law, has been a leader in the Christian Patriot movement since the late 1970s. With headquarters originally in Isabella, Missouri, Gordon has established a branch of his school in Boise, Idaho and has developed a following around the country. Through his presentations to regional Christian Patriot groups, Gordon betrays himself as a vulgar racist committed to a radically anti-democratic agenda.

Speaking at a 1990 meeting in southern Oregon sponsored by the Medford Citizens Bar Association, Gordon reportedly spoke about a conflict with an employee of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA). Referring to the employee as a "little Jap bastard," Gordon stated:

> I thought we fought World War II to make the world safe for democracy, to protect our Fourth Amendment right against search and seizure. I thought this guy forgot which side had won. So I grabbed him and threw him out in the street, and nothing's been the same since....
>
> They [OSHA] can rule and regulate just like you rule and regulate and control your five year old children. Now are you free, white and 21? No, you're a Black-assed nigger on the Oregon plantation planting trees.[20]

As with many leaders in the movement, Gordon's specialty consists of teaching followers to argue *pro se* cases in court. A flyer distributed at the Puyallup Preparedness Expo '91 in Puyallup, Washington reports that the group offers approximately 42 hours of videotapes and supporting materials for a price of $1,000 to people who want to "learn to defend yourself in the comfort of your own home...."[21]

Gordon's legal program stresses drawing a dichotomy between "Christian Common Law" and a system of "civil law" that is found throughout the Christian Patriot Movement:

> The Bible is the Holy Word of God and its commandments, statutes and ordinances. Where any conflict exists between God's Word, the Law, and man's law, God's Law must be obeyed and takes precedent over man made civil law....
>
> Today, the United States of America and all 50 states, are functioning under the principles of the ancient Babylonian system of civil law justice, and have established a system of civil law statutory codes in direct opposition to God's Law and the Constitution of the United States.[22]

> "Today, the United States of America and all 50 states, are functioning under the principles of the ancient Babylonian system of civil law justice, and have established a system of civil law statutory codes in direct opposition to God's Law and the Constitution of the United States." —*George Gordon*

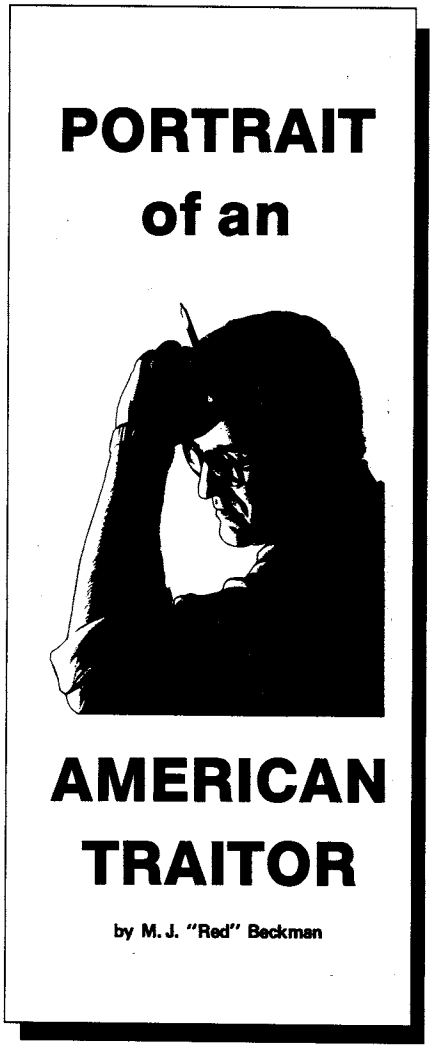
In a strategy that is used widely in the Christian Patriot movement, Gordon describes his goal of using Title 42 lawsuits against law enforcement officers and other government officials as a means of inflicting "monetary punishment."

> A number of Title 42 suits filed against one, or a single group of, defendants causes the worst thing that can happen to police, sheriff's departments, and other civil servants—they get a call from their insurance companies informing them that they are no longer covered, or that if this continues, they will either lose their coverage or the rates will go through the roof. An indirect form of monetary punishment, but a very effective one.[23]

Documenting a Decade of Hate

Martin J. "Red" Beckman

Martin J. "Red" Beckman is a long-time leader in Northwest and national Christian Patriot and tax protest circles. A regular on the racist speaking circuit, Beckman is a prolific author of Christian Patriot diatribes and anti-Semitic tracts. Through his Billings, Montana-based Common Sense Press, this elder statesmen of the racist movement distributes, among other titles, his books *Born Again Republic*, *Do Unto the IRS As They Would Do Unto You*, *The IRS and the Black Robed Cover Up*, *The Church Deceived* and *The Law That Never Was*, the latter book co-authored with fellow tax protester Bill Benson.



Beckman is perhaps best known for his leadership in the tax protest segment of the movement. Working closely with Benson and Alabama-based tax protest leader Larry Beecraft, Beckman promotes the idea that the Sixteenth Amendment was never properly ratified. According to Christian Patriot Phillip Marsh, Beckman formed the group Montana Historians in the early 1980s to research and prove this very point.[24]

In his 1984 book *The Church Deceived*, Beckman describes the IRS as, "an organization totally controlled by the money changers and the Anti-Christ Church," a clear reference to Jews and Judaism in the context of the book.

Beckman's rabid anti-Semitism reaches its pinnacle in *The Church Deceived*. Referring to the murder of six million Jews by the German Nazi regime, he writes:

> They talk about the terrible holocaust [sic] of Hitler's Nazi Germany. Was that not a judgment upon a people who believe Satan is their God? The true almighty God used the evil Nazi government to perform judgment upon the evil anti-christ religion of those who had crucified the Christ. Many believe it was a race of people, who were victims of Hitler's holocaust, but that is more of the deceit and lies of the Anti-Christ [sic] religion. Anyone, who has studied the scripture, knows that wars are judgment for evil choices. The Anti-Christ church was not a victim during World War II because they were getting their just reward for their evil choices.[25]

One of Beckman's key contributions to the Patriot movement has been his promotion of using juries as a tool for advancing tax protest and other movement goals. Beckman is a long-time proponent of the notion that juries have the right to decide not only the facts of a case, but the actual validity of the law as well. As becomes clear in his writings, Beckman views the jury as a means of attacking democracy and blocking government efforts to enforce tax laws. In a 1990 booklet titled *Walls in Our Minds*, Beckman writes:

Red Beckman

The Church Deceived
In which Beckman pronounces that the Holocaust was the judgment of God upon the Jews for having an"anti-Christ" religion.

Beckman and the 16th Amendment:

Born Again Republic

Do Unto the IRS As They Would Do Unto You

The Law That Never Was

Jury Nullification

Walls in Our Minds

The Northwest Imperative:

Beckman (Cont.)

No More Wacos
Pete Peters
Bo Gritz
Jack McLamb
Rudy Stanko

Walls in Our Minds
Juries have the power to stop the IRS.

Democracy—
"A sacred cow."

Fully Informed Jury Association
Helmville, Montana

Montana Vigilantes
Beckman and the rise of citizen militias

Beckman Loses His Land
Red Beckman's land is siezed by the IRS and sold. In 1994 his house is bulldozed to the ground.

> Our present government should be thrown onto the junk heap of history and our lawful government restored. Our jury votes can trash our present government and bring our lawful government back in a peaceful and orderly process.
>
> ...Politicians used our votes on Grand Juries and Trial Juries to give the IRS the power to plunder and terrorize. If juries gave the IRS its power, the juries can take it away . . . . Grand Juries and Trial Juries are very small minorities and you should... be aware of the great power of those small minorities. That sacred cow, we call democracy and majority rule, just found itself on the junk heap. [26]

Beckman's radically anti-democratic view of juries has led him to play a leading role in the Helmville, Montana-based Fully Informed Jury Association, a libertarian-Christian Patriot hybrid which promotes the view that juries should decide not just the guilt or innocence of the accused, but the legitimacy of laws.

> **"Many believe it was a race of people, who were victims of Hitler's holocaust, but that is more of the deceit and lies of the Anti-Christ [sic] religion.... The Anti-Christ church was not a victim during World War II because they were getting their just reward for their evil choices."**
>
> **—Red Beckman**
> ***The Church Deceived***

In early 1994 Beckman's tax protest activities led him into a volatile confrontation with law enforcement officials, and to a subsequent leadership role in the burst of Christian Patriot and Identity-led militia organizing throughout Montana and the Northwest.

In May 1994 Beckman was evicted from his property after a battle with the IRS over taxes owed since the mid-1970s. In 1979, the IRS sold a twenty acre plot of Beckman's land to Getter Trucking. When the company sought the transfer of the land and a Federal District court ruled in its favor, Beckman refused to appear in court for a January 1994 hearing, claiming that the court lacked jurisdiction over the case.[27]

Beckman's stance set the stage for a burst of white supremacist activity which brought the full range of movement leaders to his defense. On the weekend of January 29-30, 1994, just one day before his scheduled appearance in District Court, Beckman held a gathering titled "No More Wacos" at a Holiday Inn in Billings. Among those attending the meeting were Colorado Christian Identity leader Pete Peters, James "Bo" Gritz, Gerald "Jack" McLamb, Rudy Stanko, a high ranking member of the neo-Nazi Church of the Creator, and Dory Ritrovado, publisher of the *Montana Vigilante Report*.[28] The presence of this wide range of racist leaders, many of whom have harshly criticized one another, speaks to Beckman's stature in the movement as a whole.

The period leading up to Beckman's eviction helped spur an increase in militia and Posse Comitatus-like organizing in Montana and the Northwest. His organizing began as early as October 1993 when he apparently held a meeting with fifteen "delegates" of a group called the Montana Vigilantes at his ranch outside of Billings. According to an article by Washington state far right leader John Prukop in the January 1994 *American's Bulletin*, the Posse-like group issued a none-too-veiled threat to Yellowstone County Sheriff Chuck Maxwell who also attended the meeting.

As Prukop tells it, Beckman related the story of a Virginia City, Montana Sheriff who was hung in 1864 and then went on to boast: "We're not backing up for a bunch of criminals and the Sheriff of Yellowstone County knows it. We wouldn't wish the same fate on him."[29] Prukop also writes that The Montana Vigilance Committee was intended as a vehicle to conduct Town Meetings throughout the state in part to promote Beckman's ideas about the authority of petit and Grand Juries.[30]

Documenting a Decade of Hate

Christian Patriot Association

At the center of Christian Patriot activity in northern Oregon is Richard Flowers and the Boring, Oregon-based Christian Patriot Association (CPA). The CPA runs a book store and mail order service, publishes a newsletter, sponsors Patriot lecturers, promotes candidates such as "Bo" Gritz, and operates a warehouse bank, the Natural Coin Exchange.

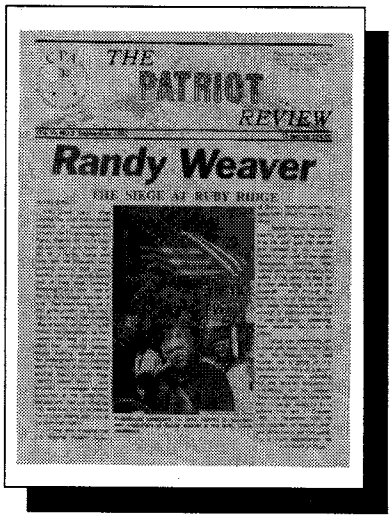
The CPA bookstore carries materials ranging from those promoting Patriot legalism and conspiracy mongering to Christian Identity and outright neo-Nazi tracts. The inside front cover of the 1993 – 94 edition of the "CPA Book Publisher Book Catalog" includes the following statement:

> CPA BOOK PUBLISHERS is an arm of the CHRISTIAN PATRIOT ASSOCIATION (CPA) which is, a Christian Political Education Association, secured by the Holy Bible as the Word of Yahweh (GOD ALMIGHTY) and its Law to all men.

Indicating a typical Christian Patriot appeal to a "higher law," neither subject to the approval of nor legally answerable to any secular authority.

The same catalogue which invokes the authority of God Almighty, also features works such as *War Cycles, Peace Cycles* and *Vigilantes of Christendom* by Christian Identity murder advocate Richard Kelly Hoskins, *America: Free, White, & Christian* and *Who is Esau–Edom?* by Charles Weisman, an Identity minister who promotes genocide, the neo-Nazi novel the *Turner Diaries* by Andrew MacDonald (aka William Luther Pierce), and Holocaust denial books such as *The Leuchter Report: The First Forensic Examination of Auschwitz* by Fred A. Leuchter and *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* by Arthur Butz.[31]

Besides racist, anti-Semitic and conspiracy mongering ideological tracts, CPA Books also distributes a number of "self-help" manuals dealing with weapon use, explosive manufacture and guerrilla warfare. Titles available include *Boobytraps, FM 5-12*, described as "the finest non-classified book on the subject,"[32] the *CIA Black Book, Explosives and Demolitions* (U.S. Army FM 5-15), the *Improvised Munitions Handbook*, and the *Operator's Manual for AK-47 Assault Rifle*.[33]



The CPA newsletter, *The Patriot Review*, features a mixture of technical articles dealing with Christian Patriot legal arguments on property, taxation and banking along with pieces dealing with various conspiracy theories and covering major events in the movement such as the Weaver siege and subsequent trial. The motto printed on the masthead states: "Unless the American Patriot is Christian Liberty Cannot be Restored."

Christian Patriot author Des Griffin is a regular columnist, writing on topics ranging from the Weaver trial to the New World Order and impending United Nations take-over of the U.S. In the April 1992 issue of *The Patriot Review*, for example, Griffin has a piece titled "Will America Be Bushwhacked by the United Nations?" in which he goes after the so-called New World Order declared by George Bush during the Persian Gulf War.

Christian Patriot Association (CPA)

Richard Flowers

Patriot Books— Improvised munitions, booby traps, and assault rifles.

CPA Covers the Weaver Siege Bo Gritz is pictured on the cover, a flag waving over his head.

Yahweh Claiming the authority of "God Almighty"

Patriot Titles: *Vigilantes of Christendom, Who is Esau–Edom?, Turner Diaries.*

Des Griffin The New World Order (NWO)

CPA (Cont.)

Des Griffin

The Illuminati

Bo Gritz— Federal prosecutors are "weenies."

Inciting Violence?

Wanted: FBI Sniper Lon Tomoshisa Horiuchi

Vicki Weaver

Flowers and anti-Semitism:

Griffin writes:

> Cutting through the fancy phraseology, the altruistic-sounding rhetoric and the stony silence designed to mislead the uninformed, the bottom line is clear. They [the 1992 presidential candidates–Ed.] all support the establishment of a New World Order. Such a new world order would, of course, be the fulfillment of the diabolical plans laid out more than 200 years ago by the Luciferian Illuminati, the most secret of secret societies.[34]

Patriot leader James "Bo" Gritz, a close associate of CPA leader Richard Flowers, has also been a periodic contributor to *The Patriot Review*. In the August/September 1993 issue there is an article by Gritz titled "Get Mad and Let God Get Even" in which he speaks of various federal prosecutors—whom he refers to as "weenies"—who "get what's coming to them."

In contrast to the overall message of the article—that Patriots should wait and let God take vengeance for them—the concluding paragraphs suggest that people should write to Randy Weaver's daughters with "some sentiments" about "Lon Tomoshisa Horiuchi, the FBI sniper who shot Vicki Weaver down in cold blood on 22 August 1992."[35]

Gritz then goes on to claim that "Horiuchi testified that he was not sorry about having killed Vicki and wished he could have done the same to the others."[36]

Beneath this provocative statement Horiuchi's home address is printed, directly above a "wanted" poster with a stylized drawing of Horiuchi depicting him as a scowling Asian man in suit and tie. Beneath the poster is the following caption:

> Without provocation, Horiuchi shot and killed Vicki Weaver while she was holding her 10-month old daughter in her arms.
>
> This man is considered armed and dangerous and if he is sighted in your community, warn others and alert the Patriotic Community.[37]

Which, depending on who is reading it, may or may not be considered an incitement to violence.

Though Bo Gritz himself has consistently tried to deny that he is a bigot or that he promotes bigoted politics, his long and close relationship to CPA leader Richard Flowers has been one of several chinks in his all-American armor.

Flowers, who managed Gritz's Presidential campaign in Oregon and who continues to be one of Gritz's key contacts in the Patriot movement, has said:

> God created man for woman, period. The Oregon Citizens Alliance has a good start on the homo issue, but I don't think they have gone far enough. The Bible says to stone them..., but you really wouldn't need to shoot too many of them to get the point across.[38]

CPA head Richard Flowers and neo-Nazi Derek Stenzel provide security for Holocaust denier David Irving. Mt. Hood Community College, Gresham, Oregon, October 1992.

Though less outspoken on issues of race and less virulent in his anti-Semitism than open neo-Nazis or hard-core Identity believers, Flowers has nonetheless made his opinions known.

"We are tabbed as being anti-semetic [sic] and racist because we have a bookstore that offers literature on both sides of the Jewish

Documenting a Decade of Hate

issue," Flowers explained to the *Clackamas County Review*.[39] Flowers has never been asked what he meant by "both sides of the Jewish issue," but his attendance at Portland lectures of British Holocaust denier David Irving in 1992 and 1994 gives us some insight.[40]

Flowers has also told reporters that:

> People of color should carry themselves based on their own abilities. I don't mind that they should own land or vote but there should not be any affirmative action and if the blacks don't like it they can always go back to Africa. *Blacks in general have a lower I.Q. than whites*, and most want to just come in and take over without establishing anything for themselves.[41]

Flowers even went so far as to criticize Gritz for "mating with an asian [sic] woman," but qualified his criticism by adding that it happened a long time ago and that Gritz had changed.[42]

> **"I don't mind that they own land or vote but there should not be any affirmative action and if the blacks don't like it they can always go back to Africa. Blacks in general have a lower I.Q. than whites."**
>
> ***—Richard Flowers***

Apart from being the Oregon campaign manager of Gritz's 1992 presidential bid, Flowers has also served as the local contact for Gritz's paramilitary SPIKE trainings[43] and has appeared with him at Preparedness Expos.[44]

The Christian Patriot Association also operates a warehouse bank, The Natural Coin Exchange. Those wishing to use the exchange must first be CPA members, the idea being that CPA, which defines itself as a political organization that exists to petition the government for redress of grievances, is protected from government interference under the First Amendment. The CPA claims an absolute right to keep information about its members private, including financial records that might be sought by the IRS or other government agencies.[45]

In a promotional brochure entitled "Warehouse Exchange Explained," the reasons for warehouse banking are clarified:

> Besides check writing and cashing, the primary services the Exchange provides is the service of allowing you to deal in and out of hard money *and* protection of your privacy. This, of course, allows you to avoid the ravaging effects of inflation, currency collapse, bank failures, currency devaluation and the most important of all for Freeman [sic], the Maritime jurisdiction that attaches by use of a checking account and by not immediately converting commercial paper (checks, etc.) to substance.
>
> The Exchange can accomplish this purpose because it is NOT incorporated, is NOT a limited partnership, and does NOT have a business license or any other sanction from a government agency. The Exchange is a service of a political association which is outside the jurisdiction of the government agencies that would deprive you and the Exchange of our right to privacy.[46]

This makes for an intriguing argument, but it is reasonably clear that the First Amendment is designed to protect political activity, not shield assets from taxation, a fact that David Willis and his co-defendants discovered when they tried to hide their National Currency Exchange behind the ostensibly political American Freeman Association. Willis and five others were convicted of money laundering and conspiracy in United States District Court in Portland, Oregon.[47]

In the mid-1980s Willis and five cohorts, Muriel Reilly, Evelyne C. Pett, Glenn E. Willmschen, Melanie C. Pleasant and Diane L. Willis were tried and convicted of conspiracy and money laundering in connection with their association with the National Currency Exchange. In a letter presented as evidence at his trial, Willis states in part:

> As of March 6, 1986 I am no longer Director of the American Freeman Association. The Directorship of the American Freeman Association and the National Currency Exchange has been turned over to Richard Flowers and Rodney Askelson.[48]

The letter was counter-signed by Richard Flowers of the Christian Patriot Association (CPA) indicating CPA continuity with the American Freeman Association.[49]

CPA (Cont.)

Flowers and Racism:

Flowers, Gritz and Interracial Marriage

Natural Coin Exchange
Warehouse Banking

American Freeman Association

National Currency Exchange
CPA is the heir of this earlier warehouse bank operation.

Concerned Citizens of Idaho

Idaho Liberty Network

Idaho Sovereignty Association

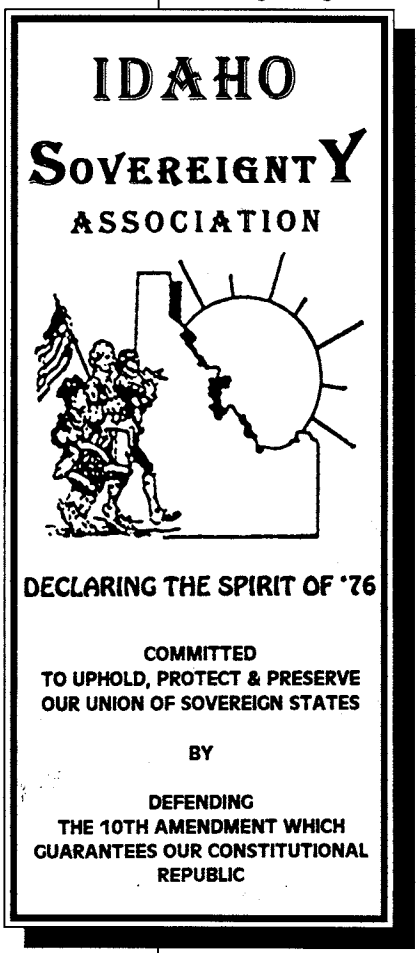
Tom Stetson

Militia Organizing

The Jubilee

Concerned Citizens of Idaho & the Idaho Liberty Network

On April 23, 1994 a variety of Christian Patriots and militia organizers gathered in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho at a conference sponsored by the Idaho Liberty Network. The conference was organized by E. Tom Stetson III, a Concerned Citizens of Idaho associate and contributor to the racist, Christian Identity newspaper the *Jubilee*. Besides the usual cast of Patriots, the Coeur d'Alene meeting also featured Idaho Secretary of State Pete Cenurussa, lending the gathering a degree of respectability it would not otherwise have enjoyed. Other participants included United States Militia Association director Samuel Sherwood of Blackfoot, Idaho, former Madison County Idaho Sheriff Lionel Koon, and former Nye County, Nevada Commissioner Dick Carver, a leader in the Wise Use movement.



Stetson wrote a piece promoting the conference in the March/April 1994 issue of the *Jubilee*, in which he stated that "Historian/political writer Sam Sherwood... will give us a peek into the near future if things do not change." Ironically, Stetson's membership in Sherwood's United States Militia Association is currently under review because of his relationship to the *Jubilee* and other racist and anti-Semitic groups.[50]

The April 23, 1994 conference was a festival of Christian Patriot themes. Stetson—who also participated in the 1992 "Rocky Mountain Rendezvous" called by Identity Pastor Pete Peters, along with hard-core white supremacists like Montana Christian Patriot Red Beckman, Aryan Nations leader Richard Butler, paramilitary organizer and former Klansman Louis Beam and anti-Semitic genocide advocate Charles Weisman[51]—spoke at length about the recently passed 1994 Crime Bill. He told attendees that Hong Kong police officers were being imported to enforce the gun control provisions of the bill, telling the crowd he had contacted Idaho Senator Jack Kempthorne's office with his concerns. Stetson explained, "The feedback I shared with Kempthorne's office was this: Please tell the Senator of people's reaction to this concept of having Hong Kong police officers coming to America and doing whatever it is they're doing—they will be shot on sight!"[52]

Sam Sherwood followed up Stetson's comments with a defense of Secretary of State Cenurusso's presence.

> Boy, wouldn't the press love to fry him [Cenurussa]. I mean, come on, if they were smart they'd be here. Tomorrow, with the Boise, Idaho Statesman or whatever that stupid paper from down there is: "Secretary of state meets with radicals in Coeur d'Alene." Right, yeah we're real radicals. We just want our freedom, you know, that's all.[53]

Sherwood then proceeded to promote his version of state and county land rights which, he speculates, will only happen when we "go back to a constitutional republic form of government."

Following Sherwood was former Madison County, Idaho Sheriff Lionel Koon, who has been described as the Idaho militia's law enforcement liaison.[54] Koon told the crowd that "the sheriff has at his disposal the militia, if you have an organized militia in your county."[55] He also strongly promoted the idea of the

Documenting a Decade of Hate

Posse Comitatus:

> Now, a number of years ago the Posse Comitatus, that name was bantied [sic] about and talked about with an awful lot of disdain by the news media and by groups of folks who didn't understand that even the term Posse Comitatus and what it stood for merely means power to the county. And in Idaho the sheriff can deputize any male or female inhabitant.[56]

This is a provocative statement coming from a former law officer. The Posse factions of the early 1980s were notorious for disputes with area sheriffs who didn't happen to share their often bigoted, Christian Patriot views. Koon continues, explaining that:

> You have to have a good relationship with your commissioners when you talk about the Posse Comitatus and how to sue those in your county. The people can get together and they can charter a Posse Comitatus. They can put together their own Posse Comitatus and make it available to the sheriff. And so the sheriff has the militia, he has the Posse Comitatus he can use, he has his own deputies that he can use and he can call on other law enforcement agencies in his county such as city and municipal police officers and state police officers if he chooses to do that.[57]

Yet another Christian Patriot organization involved in advocating the formation of citizen militias is Concerned Citizens of Idaho (CCI). A CCI meeting advertised as a "Patriot Picnic" was held at Ramsey Park in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho on July 23, 1994. The meeting featured CCI regulars Tom Stetson and Eva Vail Lamb as well Stew Schmidt, a local contact for the Idaho Sovereignty Association, and star attraction John Trochmann, the co-founder of the Militia of Montana.[58]

Up to 200 people braved the 100-degree temperatures to hear what Trochmann and the others had to say. Stetson opened the meeting with a rambling, anti-government tirade in which he linked gun rights and militia organizers with anti-federal control efforts such as those initiated in Nye County, Nevada and with "10th Amendment" and "states' rights" advocates.

Stetson was followed by Stew Schmidt, the local contact for the Idaho Sovereignty Association (ISA). The ISA is one of many Christian Patriot organizations specializing in advocating or concocting strategies for "sovereign citizenship," meaning citizenship based on state residence and immunity from federal regulation not explicitly printed in the text of the Constitution. An ISA promotional pamphlet states:

> BY LAWFULLY RECLAIMING YOUR INDIVIDUAL CITIZEN'S SOVEREIGN RIGHTS, YOU CAN . . . .
>
> • Eliminate Mandated Federal and State Rules and Regulations,
>
> • Nullify Environmental Extremists and Restore Private Property Rights,
>
> • Restore Honor, Integrity and Ethical Behavior to Every Elected and Appointed Citizen's Servant in Government.[59]

Skeptics are further informed that these goals can be accomplished through "ZERO LEGAL TOLERANCE for those that Condone and/or Promote Socialists that violate the Law of the Constitution . . . ."[60]

Schmidt also took the opportunity to announce an upcoming Concerned Citizens of Idaho meeting at which Idaho Sovereignty Association director Gary De Mott was to speak along with Idaho Secretary of State Pete Cenarrusa. The meeting he promoted was held July 30, 1994 at the Kootenai County Extension Building in Coeur d'Alene, but it went on without Cenarrusa, who canceled his appearance. The Secretary of State told the press that he had grave concerns about Concerned Citizens of Idaho connections to the Militia of Montana, calling elements of that organization "a bunch of kooks." Cenarrusa explained that if Concerned Citizens of Idaho "are affiliated with any people like that, I want nothing to do with them."[61]

The final speaker at the "Patriot Picnic" was John Trochmann, co-founder of the Militia of Montana (MOM). Trochmann, who also spoke at the Sandpoint High School Auditorium in Sandpoint, Idaho on July 21, 1994 and at the Ft. Colville Grange in Colville, Washington on June 25, 1994, is among the most active of the militia organizers. Once a featured speaker at the Aryan Nations Church of Jesus

Concerned Citizens of Idaho (Cont.)

Posse Comitatus

Former Madison County, Idaho Sheriff Lionel Koon— The Posse Comitatus has been maligned in the press.

Sovereign Citizenship

Pete Cenarrusa, Idaho Secretary of State, denounces Concerned Citizens of Idaho.

John Trochmann and the Militia of Montana

Concerned Citizens of Idaho (Cont.)

Trochmann— The Brady Bill is a United Nations plot.

Sam Sherwood of the U.S. Militia Association— Trochmann is paranoid.

Frank Pepper Interracial Marriage

President Clinton and the Invasion of Hong Kong Police

Pete Peters

Fully Informed Jury Association (FIJA)

Helmville, Montana

Fully Informed Jury Initiative

Christ Christian in Hayden Lake, Idaho, Trochmann's ties to the racist Christian Identity movement also make him one of the most controversial of the militia advocates.[62]

Trochmann wove a convoluted conspiracy theory at the Coeur d'Alene event, alleging the Brady Bill was a United Nations plot to take away American guns. The main thrust of his message was this: armed militias were necessary to stop a run-away federal government and a possibly imminent invasion by UN forces.

Samuel Sherwood, the United States Militia Association (USMA) leader, has tried to distance himself from the Trochmanns and the Militia of Montana. He has told the press:

> [They] are fearful of their government and are arming themselves to protect themselves from it. . . . They've become distrustful of everyone and everything. They're good sincere people, but they're paranoid about everything.[63]

Yet Sherwood has distributed literature promoting conspiracy theories every bit as far-fetched and paranoid as Trochmann's. A leaflet distributed at a July 28, 1994 Sherwood presentation in Blackfoot, for example, claimed:

> Bill Clinton is bringing up to 100,000 Hong Kong Chineese [sic] to America to be his federal police. Bill Clinton is planning to seize very gun in America with his Chineese [sic] police.[64]

Further, USMA continues to have close ties with Concerned Citizens for Idaho, the organization that invited Trochmann to speak at the Patriot Picnic. On September 3, 1994 USMA associates helped to organize a CCI event in Twin Falls, Idaho with Christian Patriot Frank Pepper, according to USMA representative Alan Hunter.[65]

Pepper, reportedly an investigator with a California-based organization called the Civil Rights Task Force, repeated standard Christian Patriot conspiracy theories with racist leanings similar to those expressed by Jack McLamb. Literature distributed at the event was more explicit. For example Christian Identity Pastor Pete Peter's pamphlet titled "The Bible: Handbook for Survivalists, Racists, Tax Protesters, Militants and Right-Wing Extremists" advises:

> There was a time in America when interracial marriage was against the law and integration was not only socially but religiously unacceptable. In those days, America had no racial problems nor a killing plague such as AIDS. The white Nordic race who settled within her borders knew they were Israel and that the law of their God forbid certain racial interactions.[67]

Fully Informed Jury Association

Based in Helmville, Montana, the Fully Informed Jury Association (FIJA) is the national proponent of the effort to inform juries that they have the "right" to rule not only on the case in question, but on the merits of the law. FIJA promotes the Fully Informed Jury Amendment which would require judges to read the following statement to jurors:

> As Jurors, in order to reach a just verdict, each of you has the responsibility to consider whether the defendant's actions have actually caused harm or otherwise violated your sense of right and wrong. You may judge both the merits of the law under which the Defendant has been charged, and the wisdom of applying the law to the defendant. Even if a strict application of the law to the facts would indicate a guilty verdict, you have the authority to find the Defendant not guilty. Exercise your judgment without passion or prejudice, but with honesty and understanding. If you decide that the defendant has broken the law, but that in good conscience you can not support a guilty verdict, you are not required to do so.[68]

Documenting a Decade of Hate

Montana Christian Patriot Red Beckman is listed as a FIJA contact for the Montana branch of the organization and he was a featured speaker at the September 5, 1991 "Jury Rights Day National Kickoff" sponsored by FIJA. Speaking with Beckman were Libertarian vice-presidential candidate Nancy Lord and Larry Pratt representing Gun Owners of America, indicating the appeal of FIJA ideas beyond the Patriot movement.

The idea of "jury nullification" or jury authority to rule on the merits of the law has attracted the interest of a wide range of groups from those seeking the decriminalization of marijuana use, to anti-abortion zealots in the so-called rescue movement, to hard-core Second Amendment activists. The core of FIJA, however, is rooted in Christian Patriot notions of citizenship and the realization that juries could potentially overturn charges ranging from malicious harassment to firearms violations and tax evasion.

Red Beckman, for example, has apparently had a profound impact on FIJA and the idea of jury nullification. An Autumn 1991 issue of the *FIJActivist*, FIJA's quarterly newsletter, credits Beckman with introducing Larry Dodge, the FIJA national field representative, to "Jury nullification" eleven years ago.

Beckman has also been a key proponent of the idea that juries—both grand and petit—constitute not only means of deciding specific cases in favor of Patriots, but a means for advancing the Patriot political agenda:

> The truth we must grasp at this point is this: All of the debts, deficit and decline which is clouding our future, are the result of giving politicians our grand jury and trial (petit) jury votes.... The internal review code is bad law created by politicians. It has been enforced, for years, by people who have given their jury votes to politicians.... It is registered voters, sitting as jurors, that are the source of power for the I.R.S.[69]

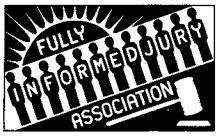
In a Spring 1990 issue of the *FIJA Activist*, leader Larry Dodge responds to the question "What if the jury nullifies a good law?"

> This is not generally a problem. We have centuries of experience with jury veto power, and generally laws that protect people against invasions of their property or threats against their safety, are supported by the community as a whole and are enforced by jurors.[70]

That Beckman, a man who considers the Holocaust to be God's just punishment against the Jews, is using jury nullification as a wedge issue with which to expand the Christian Patriot movement, casts something more than a shadow of a doubt over Dodge's assurance.

FIJA (Cont.)

Red Beckman



TRUE OR FALSE ?

When you sit on a jury, you have the right to vote your conscience.

Golden Mean Team–Peggy Christensen

In 1993 veteran tax protester Peggy Christensen moved her Golden Mean Team and publication *The Correspondent* from Missoula, Montana to a new base in Condon, Montana. While Christensen's influence has diminished in the wake of the increase in Christian Identity activity in Western Montana in the 1990s and statewide militia organizing, she remains a prominent figure in the region's Christian Patriot movement.[71]

Like many Christian Patriot figures, Christensen leads with libertarian-like tirades against an encroaching federal government that has exceeded its constitutionally mandated role through over-taxing and violating the rights of its citizens. For instance a flyer recently distributed by the group includes Reverend Martin Niemoeller's now famous quote which begins: "In Germany, the Nazis first came for the Communists, and I didn't speak

Golden Mean Team Peggy Christensen

Missoula, Montana

Taxes are Nazi-like

Golden Mean Team (Cont.)

up because I wasn't a Communist. Then they came for the Jews, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Jew. . . ." The flyer follows Niemoeller's quote by stating: "Many people equate this to the attack brought on by the Internal Revenue Service."[72]

FRNs— Federal Reserve Notes, i.e. dollars.

In contrast with this hyperbolic rhetoric, Mean Team literature describes its goal as being to "peacefully reform the current taxation system and restore our country to the Constitutional form of government our forefathers intended." To do this Christensen offers, for a price of 325 FRNs (Federal Reserve Notes, pronounced "ferns," meaning dollars in Christian Patriot jargon) a lifetime membership to the group which gives members access to strategies for arguing tax cases and assistance in contacting attorneys for those charged with tax evasion. On a donation basis, the group offers aid in preparing court petitions, appeals, supreme court writs and other legal documents.[73]

Peggy Christensen and the Constitution

Peggy Christensen has also joined the litany of far right figures who rally support for racist and other far right figures serving time in prison. A regular feature in *The Correspondent* titled "Political Prisoners' Roll Call" lists the mailing addresses of prisoners, urging financial support and letter writing. Recently the "Roll Call" solicited support for such notorious racists as Yorie Von Kahl, the son of Gordon Kahl, who was jailed after a shoot-out with law officers in North Dakota, and fanatical anti-Semite and Posse Comitatus leader James Wickstrom. Besides prisoner support Christensen has run ads for the programs of such noted racist leaders as New Nation USA founder S.A. Freeman.[75]

In addition Christensen has appeared as a speaker at Christian Identity meetings. Speaking to the audience of a Christian Identity conference in 1988, Christensen said of the U.S. Constitution:

> The Constitution is just a little document created by man and I believe blessed by God to raise America up to be the Nation that went out to evangelize the world and is going to preserve the white race.[76]

Amendment XVI of the Constitution of the United States, ratified February 3, 1913:

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

John Weaver

Martin Larsen
Gordon Kahl

Jack McLamb

The books and tapes offered through the Golden Mean Team bookstore, PEGS Books, include titles by numerous leaders in the Christian Patriot movement including hard-core racists. Examples include the *Christian and Civil Government* by John Weaver, a Georgia Identity leader, rabid anti-Semite and regular speaker at events sponsored by the Sandpoint, Idaho-based America's Promise Ministries; titles by longtime *Spotlight* writer Martin A. Larsen, and *There Was a Man: Gordon Kahl* written in part by Christian Patriot activist Ajay Lowery. In addition, Christensen offers audio and video tapes by Weaver, Colorado Christian Identity leader Pete Peters and police officer-turned-far-right-leader Gerald "Jack" McLamb.[74]

Finally, a regular feature in *The Correspondent* titled "Conklin's Corner" aggressively recruits support for the Golden Mean Team from the base of judicially active Christian Patriot tax protesters. While the anti-tax arguments put forth by "Conklin's Corner" writer Bill Conklin lack the overt racism of many pro se advocates, the target audience and goals are clear. Conklin lashes out at the "charlatans running around the country preaching new theories such as the non-resident alien theory" (e.g., Association de Libertas), and he says of Pilot Connection followers, "you are going to have a real tough time in the future...."[77]

Conklin advises those seeking to take a "citizenship argument" into the courtroom:

> Although, I think the citizenship argument is

patently ridiculous, I do believe that people have a right to raise the issue. The issue should not be raised on a 1040 NR and it should not be raised by writing letters to the IRS telling them that you are not filing.... You should pay and file a claim for a refund on your own paper and not on a government refund claim form, and when the claim is denied, file a suit in the Federal District Court. If you use that approach for all the new patriot ideas, many of which will get you a one way ticket to Club Fed, you will be able to raise your issues in a refund forum in Federal District Court and not in a criminal case.[78]

While Conklin discourages those who wish to advance the openly racist state verses Fourteenth Amendment citizenship argument, he offers his own twist on Christian Patriot legal strategies. Conklin promotes the idea that "patriots" should fail to file a tax return on Fifth Amendment grounds, suing for a refund in court so as to increase public attention and sympathy for the cause:

> If you wish to file a Fifth Amendment type of return... do not put exempt on the W-4, let the employer send the money to the IRS. You can do a claim for a refund and sue later. That way, you will have kept the issues in the civil arena. It is highly unlikely that the IRS will go criminally against an individual who would get a refund from overwitholding if he were to file a return....
>
> If the patriots in the Freedom Movement would have used this approach long ago, the Income Tax Hoax might have been exposed to the public by now. The problem is that the principal reason that people get involved in the Freedom Movement is to save money on taxes. They do not get involved in order to expose the HOAX.[79]

Golden Mean Team (Cont.)

Bill Conklin Critiques other Patriots as huxters.

The Income Tax Hoax

Organic Constitution

The "hoax" that Conklin refers to is that the income tax is unconstitutional. A mid-1980s pamphlet written for the Mean Team by Paul Donald spells out the group's position and hints that the group supports the core Christian Patriot belief that the Organic Constitution is the standard of judgment for all following Amendments, stating that the Sixteenth Amendment "...is repugnant to the original body of law as ratified—something that established American judicial principle says no law is supposed to be...."[80]

James "Bo" Gritz–Center for Action

James "Bo" Gritz

Rambo

Called to Serve Gritz discovered U.S. complicity in the heroin trade.

One of the most important of the Christian Patriot leaders, whose influence is felt throughout the white supremacist movement, is retired Lt. Col. James "Bo" Gritz. A former Green Beret currently residing in Sandy Valley, Nevada, Gritz is a larger-than-life figure best known for his Presidential campaign as the 1992 candidate for the Populist Party and for his role in negotiating an end to the stand-off between white supremacist Randy Weaver and federal authorities in August of the same year.

Since retiring from the military in 1979, Gritz has been involved in numerous private missions to search for American POWs in Southeast Asia.[81] The story Gritz tells in his autobiographical book *Called to Serve* (1991) is that while searching for POWs he discovered evidence of CIA involvement in drug trafficking and massive corruption in the federal government.

Gritz subsequently began working with a host of bigots involved with the Christian Patriot and white supremacist movements. In 1988 he accepted the nomination of the Populist Party—an electoral front for neo-Nazi, Ku Klux Klan, and other professional racist and anti-Semitic organizations—to be David Duke's vice presidential running mate. Gritz is pictured shaking hands with Duke in the March 28, 1988 issue of the *Spotlight*[82] and the cover of

Gritz and David Duke

Bo Gritz
(Cont.)

Rambo & Duke

Bo Gritz Shakes Hands With neo-Nazi David Duke

Populist Party

Gritz Denounces Duke

Gritz—
"My good friend Willis Carto."

Gritz—
Carto supports Duke and cheats the Populist Party.

the April 1988 issue of the *Populist Observer*—the official organ of the Populist Party—has side-by-side photos of the two beneath the headline "It's Duke and Rambo!"[83]

In a pattern that has become all too predictable to civil rights activists who monitor the white supremacist movement, Gritz would later disavow any relationship with Duke. In a 1992 campaign visit to Wilsonville, Oregon Gritz told reporters, "I don't like David Duke, and I don't like what he stands for. Anyone who is a racist, anyone who is a bigot... I don't want their support."[84]

Yet in a videotaped interview the elaboration of Gritz's seemingly straightforward denunciation of racists and bigots leaves more than a shadow of doubt about his true feelings.[85] When questioned about the "rumor" that he had been Duke's running mate, Gritz concedes the fact, but explains that he had agreed to accept the nomination at the request of his "good friend" Willis Carto without knowing that Duke would be the Presidential candidate.

Of course Gritz's good friend Willis Carto is one of the most notorious and influential bigots in the country—a fact Gritz would later admit in a press conference held at the Multnomah County Courthouse in Portland, Oregon in March 1993, but only after a bitter split between Carto and the Populist Party that left Carto out in the cold.[86] Gritz lamely allowed that "maybe Carto was a bigot," but it didn't matter since he was no longer associated with Carto.[87]

In fact, the split between Carto and Gritz dated at least back to January 1992 when Gritz wrote an angry letter to Carto taking him to task for financial double dealing with Populist Party funds:

> During my first meeting... as a Populist candidate, I expressed utmost concern for accountability of party funds. I wanted there to be no question that I would not tolerate even the slightest misappropriation.... Past handling methods were brought up and it was pointed out that you had absolute control over disbursement of Populist Party, Spotlight and Liberty Lobby accounts.... FEC records showing gross PP withdrawals approaching $700,000 to both Spotlight and LL for such purposes as mailing list rental and advertisement. On their face, they... seemed terribly excessive. Why would PP pay LL more than $100,000 to rent mailing lists? ... It seemed incredulous to me that a person like yourself at the pulse of all three organizations would charge such inconceivable amounts.[88]

In the same letter Gritz also complains about Carto's lack of political acumen, writing:

> David Duke is a loser. Paint him red-white-blue, make him look like Uncle Sam, give him flags to wave, have him sing God Bless America, and fire a 21 gun salute. Still, he is a loser. He has done more harm to the Populist Party and third party movement than Hitler would have. Why do you continue to ride a dead horse?[89]

This is a pattern that has been repeated by Gritz several times, as he steadfastly maintains contacts with white supremacist leaders and

Documenting a Decade of Hate

activists just as long as they are useful to him. Pastor Pete Peter of Colorado, for example, one of the most prominent Christian Identity leaders in the country, was for a time one of his closest movement associates. Gritz was a regular speaker at Peter's annual Family Bible Camp, and Peters helped fund the publication of Gritz's book.[90]

In a speech delivered at the 1991 Bible Camp, Gritz embraced the Identity movement's anti-Semitic message, telling the crowd:

> The enemy you face today is a satanic overthrow where he would change the United States of America, a nation under God, into USA, Incorporated with King George as chairman of the board. And a Zionist group that would rule over us as long as satan might be upon this earth, that is your enemy.[91]

In the same speech he also praised Peters and the Identity movement:

> Do you think you're lucky to be an Identity Christian today?... I believe that the Identity Christian movement will continue to grow in this nation until it is able to stand self-sufficient in spite of the government... I am telling you that He [God] has given us all that we need. He's given us the likes of Pete Peters, he's given us the likes of the Identity Christian movement.[92]

But in 1992, when Gritz was running for President, he found himself under harsh criticism for his association with men like Peters, anti-Semitic author Eustace Mullins, Klansman Kim Badynski, neo-Nazi sympathizer Harry Schmidt and Christian Patriot bigot Richard Flowers. Gritz's strategy for dealing with this criticism was, and continues to be: (1) loudly deny that he is a bigot, (2) claim that his supporters and Patriot colleagues are not bigots, just outspoken and misunderstood, and (3) selectively denounce those who are no longer useful—e.g. Carto—and those who publicly denounce him—e.g. Peters.

The problem began with Gritz's views on homosexuals and homosexuality. Gritz, though he has always denied being a bigot, has consistently taken crass homophobic positions—but for men like Peters and others in the Identity movement, Gritz is not homophobic enough. For example, in an interview, excerpts of which were published in the March/April 1992 issue of the Identity newspaper *The Jubilee*, Gritz is asked if he would approve the death penalty for homosexuals.

Gritz responds:

> I'm personally not for it. The reason I am not for it is while I personally abhor these perversions, I'm not certain we are to judge on those things. I think God will judge these individuals.[93]

In April 1992, Peters shot back with a now infamous anti-gay booklet with the uncompromising title: *Intolerance of, Discrimination Against and the Death Penalty for Homosexuals is Prescribed in the Bible*,[94] wherein he makes it clear that Gritz's equivocations on the issue were unacceptable to God. Identity pastor Ted Weiland echoes Peters' when he writes:

> "Bo," the answer is simple—read your Bible. God said they [homosexuals] are to be put to death, and it wasn't necessarily to be done in a "merciful" manner—homosexuals were to be put to death by stoning.[95]

This exchange led to an apparently irrevocable split between Gritz and Peters,[96] and for Gritz to complain bitterly about Peters when he is targeted as a leader in the white supremа-

Bo Gritz (Cont.)

Gritz—
Pete Peters, "All we need."

Gritz—
Pete Peters, "A true bigot."

Gritz and Christian Identity

Gritz and Homosexuals

"Do you think you're lucky to be an Identity Christian today? . . . I believe that the Identity Christian movement will continue to grow in this nation until it is able to stand self-sufficient in spite of the government. . . I am telling you that He [God] has given us all that we need. He's given us the likes of Pete Peters, he's given us the likes of the Identity Christian movement."
—Bo Gritz

Bo Gritz (Cont.)

Richard Flowers and Race

Richard Flowers & Homosexuals— "You wouldn't need to shoot very many to get the point across."

Flowers and Anti-Semitism— "Both sides of the Jewish Issue."

Flowers and Holocaust Denial

cist movement. He wrote in the March 1994 issue of his *Center for Action Newsletter*:

> IT IS MOST IRONIC that Pastor Pete Peters (a true bigot) continues to debase me for defending a homosexual's right to life during the campaign.[97]

Yet the split between Gritz and Peters would seem to have less to do with ideology, and more to do with conflicting egos and tactical distance. In fact one of Gritz's closest associates, Richard Flowers of the Boring, Oregon-based Christian Patriot Association, has expressed views almost identical with Peters' without incurring Gritz's displeasure.

Flowers, who managed Gritz's Presidential campaign in Oregon and who continues to be one of Gritz's key contacts in the Patriot movement, has said:

> God created man for woman, period. The Oregon Citizens Alliance has a good start on the homo issue, but I don't think they have gone far enough. The Bible says to stone them, but you really wouldn't need to shoot too many of them to get the point across.[98]

Though less outspoken on issues of race and less virulent in his anti-Semitism than Peters—who openly considers Jews to be agents of the anti-Christ, people of color to be inferior and interracial marriage against God's law[99]—Richard Flowers has nonetheless made his opinions known.

"We are tabbed as being anti-semetic [sic] and racist because we have a bookstore that offers literature on both sides of the Jewish issue," Flowers explained to the *Clackamas County Review*.[100] He wordlessly and unwittingly amplified what he meant by "both sides of the Jewish issue," by attending the 1992 and 1994 Portland lectures of British Holocaust denier David Irving.

Flowers has also told reporters that:

> People of color should carry themselves based on their own abilities. I don't mind that they should own land or vote but there should not be any affirmative action and if the blacks don't like it they can always go back to Africa. *Blacks in general have a lower I.Q. than whites*, and most want to just come in and take over without establishing anything for themselves.[101]

Flowers even went so far as to criticize Gritz for "mating with an asian woman," but qualified his criticism by adding that it happened a long time ago and that Gritz had changed.[102]

Despite these views, Flowers continues to be a close Gritz associate, promoting his SPIKE trainings[103] and appearing with him at Preparedness Expos.[104] When specifically questioned about Flowers at a public meeting held August 15, 1994 at a high school in the small central Idaho town of Kamiah, Gritz denied that Flowers is a bigot, falling back on the "outspoken" and "misunderstood" rhetoric.[105] Which is partially true: Flowers is an outspoken man who believes that blacks have lower I.Q.'s than whites, thinks that there are two sides to the "Jewish issue," insists that homosexuals should be shot in accord with "God's law," doubts that the Holocaust happened and finds interracial marriage intolerable. Misunderstood? If so, then Gritz must be the only person in the world who misunderstands him.

Even Gritz's closest ally in the Patriot movement, Jack McLamb, would seem by recent comments to believe that interracial marriage is sinful, presumably condemning Gritz for his interracial children. McLamb, a former Arizona police officer who is involved in forming "covenant communities" with Gritz in central Idaho and who was with Gritz at the Weaver siege, recently told supporters:

> If you are an American citizen and you love this country, I'll fight with you. I don't care what race you are.... Now, does that mean that we believe that we should change God's plan.... No. The globalists, that's the globalists plan, and they state it to you. Their plan is to—because we're going to be slaves—they're promoting interracial marriage because if we're all the same one day we will make better slaves.
>
> So, when we talk about working with a black brother or sister to try to save America, that doesn't mean we're trying to change God's plan. You can be white. You can not [have] interracial marriage. In working to save America you don't have to do that type of a thing.[106]

Documenting a Decade of Hate

Despite all of this, Gritz continues to play the part of the wounded innocent, steadfastly denying that he is a bigot and accusing his opponents of using smear tactics. "Associating me with the Ku Klux Klan is sort of like associating George Bush with the Ku Klux Klan because David Duke is a Republican,"[107] Gritz has complained.

But unlike Bush's relationship to David Duke, accusations against Gritz are not based on any single connection, but to a series of connections that have lasted over a period of years, to Gritz's own words, and most of all to his actions.

Duke and Bush may both be Republicans, but compared to the Populist Party, the GOP is a bastion of polyglot diversity. The modern Populist Party was founded by bigots (Willis Carto), as a front for bigots (Robert Weems, a former Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan leader from Mississippi was the first Chair), to elect bigots (David Duke, for example) to public office.[108] Furthermore, the northwest Populist Party leadership that was heavily involved in Gritz's 1992 Presidential campaign included many hard-core racists such as Northwest Knights of the Ku Klux Klan leader Kim Badynski, neo-Nazi apologist Harry Schmidt, and Klan-supporter Mark Downey.[109]

Over the years Gritz has spoken at numerous Christian Identity events, including the July 13, 1991 First National Christian Heritage Conference in Reidsville, North Carolina along with Aryan Nations attorney Kirk Lyons and hard-core Identity leader Richard Kelley Hoskins. Hoskins is the author of the 1990 book *Vigilantes of Christendom: The Story of the Phineas Priesthood* which describes racist, anti-Semitic and homophobic murder as acts of obedience to God's law.

In his 1991 book *Called to Serve* , Gritz repeats anti-Semitic conspiracy theories, writing:

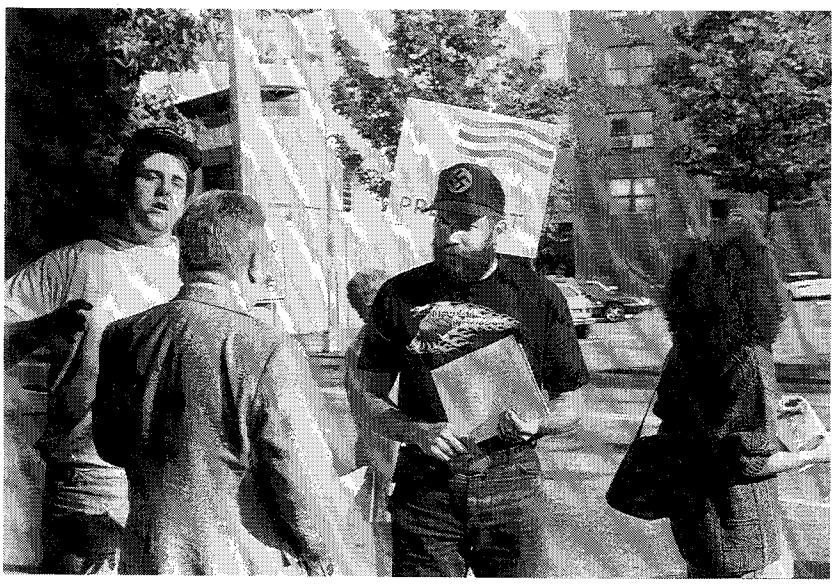
> Eustace Mullins has written several books on the money coup including "Secrets of the Federal Reserve" which I highly recommend you read.
>
> A study of 72 regional FED [Federal Reserve] directors found 70 were white and 69 were male. What the study didn't show was the true owners of the federal reserve. Eight Jewish families virtually control the entire FED—only three are American Jews.[110]

Bo Gritz (Cont.)

The Washington State Populist Party

Richard Hoskins
Vigilantes of Christendom

Gritz—
"Eight Jewish families virtually control the entire FED [Federal Reserve]."



A group of Gritz supporters gathered outside of Seattle Center. September 1992

Bo Gritz supporters gathered outside of a Seattle television studio near Seattle Center waiting to pack the audience of a local talk show where Gritz was scheduled to appear.

Bo Gritz (Cont.)

Gritz— "The Chosen People."

The Star of David and the Anti-Christ

Gritz Admonishes the Pharisees

Gritz Comments on "Rabbinical documents"

The Mark of the Beast

Gritz consistently walks a fine line between open Christian Identity-style anti-Semitism and the more camouflaged "anti-globalist/anti-elitist" conspiracies common in the Christian Patriot movement. He has written:

> What about the Old Testament? Is it addressed: To whom it may concern? Wasn't the record from Genesis 6:18 to Malachi 3:1 about God's covenant with HIS CHOSEN PEOPLE, ISRAEL?[111]

Though the above is not an anti-Semitic statement on the surface, the Identity movement is intent on hijacking the Hebrew Bible and claiming an exclusive, racial "identity" for God's chosen, or covenant people for those of northern European ancestry.

Gritz continues, in his long-winded, never quite focused way:

> Recollect the "enmity" put by God between the seed of Adam and that of the Satan possessed Chay who fathered Cain.... Had all evil been wiped clean from all the globe during the Great Flood, we would have a pure race of Godly children with little concern today. We know that this is not the condition and throughout the Bible Prophets and Jesus Christ Himself refer frequently to the seed of Satan, e.g. John 8:44, Jesus says to the Pharisees, "You are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father you desire to do." Is that why Rabbinical documents have Jesus Christ boiling in urine and excrement?[112]

Here we see what seem to be strong anti-Judaic sentiments, softened somewhat by the question marks and almost incomprehensible writing, leaving us with the question: Who, or what, is the "seed of Satan."

Gritz answers the question with the following convoluted ramblings:

> ...[T]here exist today a seed dedicated to the adversary, even as Adam's seed seeks righteousness. Do you see the sign, scent, stain, and mark of the beast on America today? Are there any outward signs that reveal who the enemy is?

Yes, of course, Gritz answers:

> While David had loved God and had been graced with His kingdom on earth, David had fallen short in the murder of Bathsheba's husband. Solomon was born of this union and became King of Israel.... Solomon insisted on marrying "foreign" wives that worshipped false gods. He prepared "high places" for Molech and Astarte, whose symbol was a six-pointed star! This occurred in 922 B.C.... Solomon adopted his six-pointed star seal after the sign of Astarte! The star of David had five points. Look to Revelations 13:18, ". . . and his number is six hundred, three score and six." The number of the Antichrist system is 666, a six within a six within a six. Six sides, six angles, six points.[113]

Though Gritz avoids saying it openly the "six-pointed star" he is referring to is the familiar Magen David[114] used as the symbol of Judaism.

Gritz's indignation about being labeled a bigot or associated with white supremacists therefore seems disingenuous. But *even if* Gritz denies that he is a bigot, denounces bigoted associates and somehow explains away his flirtations with Christian Identity leaders and anti-Semitic conspiracy theories, the bottom line still remains that his *actions* have made him a leader in the white supremacist movement.

First, Gritz's 1992 Presidential campaign brought together elements of the far right from ultra-conservatives to Christian Patriots and hard-core white supremacists, lending legitimacy to the movement as a whole. Under the banner of the America First! Coalition, which included the Independent Voters Party in Massachusetts, the American Independent Party in California and the Populist Party Gritz energized Christian Patriots and brought together activists who never previously would have been able to cooperate.

Gritz's Oregon campaign was run under the banner of the America First! Coalition by Christian Identity adherent Richard Flowers of the Christian Patriot Association;[115] in Washington the Coalition listed neo-Nazi Harry Schmidt[116] as its national contact and AFC activist John Prukop distributed materials by Identity leader Nord Davis;[117] in Western Montana, *Jubilee* correspondent Chris Temple was the AFC's point man.[118] Other officers in the AFC had similar standing in ultra-conservative and white supremacist circles.[119]

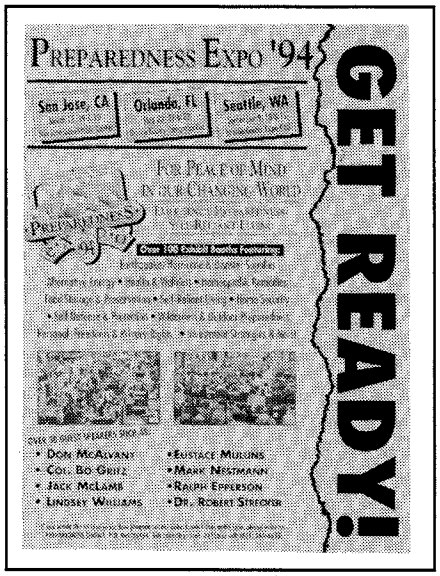
In the words of Gritz associate Jack

Documenting a Decade of Hate

McLamb:

> A dear brother of mine, Bo Gritz,...for at least five years the enemy has been pushing throughout our Patriot community that he is a CIA plant; that he's a mason; that he's everything, everything under the sun. And I hear it: I hear it until I'm sick of it. And Bo Gritz, when he was on his presidential campaign, he was able for the first time in years to bring people together like I had never seen in this nation.[120]

Second, his intervention in the Weaver siege elevated his status in the Christian Patriot and white supremacist movements. Because Weaver, a hard-core white supremacist and Identity believer who seemed intent on martyrdom, agreed to accept Gritz as a negotiator, Gritz gained additional stature with the most extreme racists. Because he was able to interpose himself between Weaver and the federal government, he gained stature with elements of the Christian Patriot movement where anti-federal themes are the strongest.[121]



Third, Gritz has missed no opportunity to capitalize on the Weaver siege and the stature he gained in the movement through his role in negotiating an end to it. In the wake of the siege, Gritz began his highly profitable SPIKE training program which has attracted the participation of hundreds of Christian Patriots in Oregon, Washington, Idaho, California and elsewhere. He has also capitalized on the paranoia created by the siege to promote his "Christian Covenant Communities," a plan to establish a refuge for Patriots in central Idaho.

Fourth, Gritz's organization, the Mesa, Arizona-based Center for Action, run by Gritz's national campaign manager Jerry Gillespie, distributes video and audio tapes that promote paranoid conspiracy theories, e.g. Cy Minett's *Know Your Enemy*, Christian Patriot pseudo-legalism, e.g. Howard Freeman's *Justice For All*, and the rantings of notorious anti-Semite Eustace Mullins.[122] The Center also distributes items such as the *Red Dot ADCO Mirage Sportsman Scope* and the TAC *STAR T2i Laser Sight.*

And fifth, Gritz's promotion of movement activists such as Richard Flowers and his Christian Patriot Association, Richard J. McDonald and his Canoga Park, California-based State Citizens Service Center, and common law trust specialist Bob Stanford of Arizona,[123] has helped to define the Patriot movement and lent it a shred of borrowed legitimacy.

Taken together these actions have a cumulative political impact the effect of which is difficult to measure, but the trend of which is unmistakable: they support an agenda of bigotry and anti-democratic ideas. When Gritz and his followers settle into the "Covenant Communities" in central Idaho, prepared to defend themselves from federal regulation, fill county level elected positions with supporters, and await the final collapse, there is no predicting what impact they will have.

Gritz's SPIKE teams and Christian ("Constitutional") Covenant Communities are a model that the rest of the movement is watching with keen interest as Patriots and white supremacists prepare for anticipated violent confrontations with federal authorities. In the context of the wide-spread formation of "citizen militias,"and increasing millenial apprehensions, these confrontations are only too likely.

***Note:** For more information on the Weaver siege, Gritz's paramilitary SPIKE training program and the establishment of Christian Covenant Communities in central Idaho see the CHD reports "Patriot Games" and "Almost Heaven."*

Bo Gritz (Cont.)

Jack McLamb & Brother Bo

Richard McDonald State Citizen Service Center

SPIKE

Almost Heaven

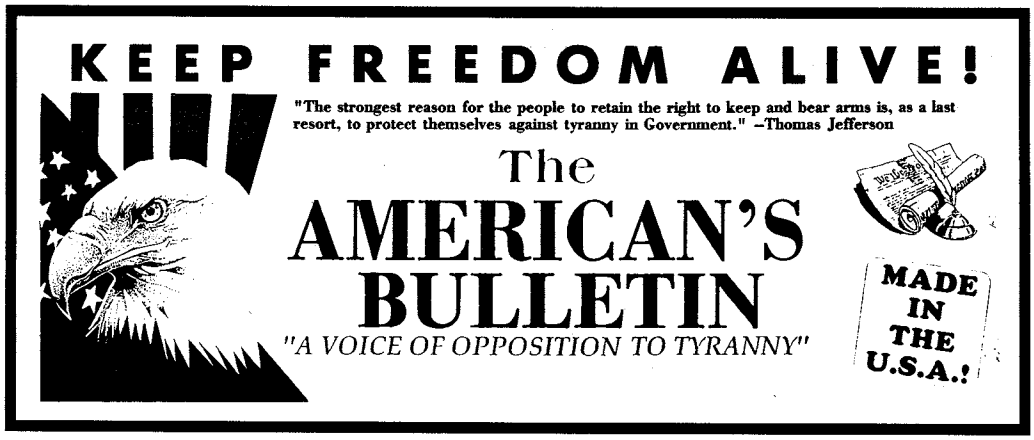
Center for Action

Violent Confrontations

Citizen Militias

Medford Citizens Bar Association

Medford Citizens Bar Association (MCBA)



The American's Bulletin
A regional forum for Christian Patriots and far right activists.

Robert Kelly

Joyce Rosenwald
Law enforcement and the Patriot Movement

Lamarr Hardy

Karl Granse

Title 42

Rich & Jeannie Schramm

Through its monthly publication the *American's Bulletin*, (formerly the *CBA Bulletin*) the Medford Citizens Bar Association (MCBA) provides the largest forum in the region for regular discussion of the variety of legal tactics taken by Christian Patriot tax protesters and *pro se* litigators. Activist Robert Kelly runs regular article-like advertisements for numerous *pro se* groups offering counseling on topics ranging from filing Title 42 lawsuits against public servants to avoiding "illegal taxes," drivers' license registration and paying traffic tickets. Among the groups regularly promoted by the MCBA are Lamarr Hardy's Honolulu, Hawaii-based anti-tax Cornerstones of Freedom Research Foundation, Citizens for a Constitutional Minnesota, an anti-tax and anti-license and regulation group run by Karl Granse, and Right Way, specializing in Title 42 suits, headed by Rick and Jeannie Schramm of Hartville, Ohio.

In addition to these groups the publication presents a crew of regular writers who offer their advice on similar pseudo-legal issues. For example Arthur Sanford, the California-based author of *The Red Book: Winning Ways to Fight Traffic Tickets*, has a regular column. He appears photographed in a clerical collar and promotes that idea that Municipal Courts lack the jurisdiction to hear traffic cases and that traffic tickets are violations of the Bill of Rights constituting false arrest and an unlawful taking of money.

Other regular writers for the *American's Bulletin* promote various forms of the far right conspiracy theories that form the core of the group's pseudo-Constitutional arguments. One example is Joyce Rosenwald who promotes the view, similar to that of former Arizona police officer Gerald "Jack" McLamb, that police officers are part of a global conspiracy:

> Why have the public servants known in the past as "OFFICERS OF THE PEACE" known today as "LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS?" Why did you become a law enforcement officer? Was it to keep the peace and preserve the America you love? Or, was it to enforce the foreign laws of a foreign principle imposed against the American people brought about by a contrived bankruptcy of this nation by a handful of criminal politicians....
>
> As law enforcement officers (police) are Corporate soldiers hired by the Corporate government to protect it's Corporate interest under the control of Interpol.[124]

Other contributors to the publication have promoted openly anti-Semitic and racist views.

Documenting a Decade of Hate

Francis Christen, the head of Serpent Slayer Publishers[125] which distributes a litany of anti-Semitic tracts, has expressed the idea that mainline "Judeo-Christianity" is a Jewish doctrine manipulated by the "controllers of society" to maintain world domination.[126] Christen has also contributed articles to Medford, Oregon Identity leader Ben Williams' publication *The American Christian* and has written in the *American's Bulletin*, in a view that certainly offends many fellow "patriots," that Jews, acting as Freemasons, created the Constitution to usurp the sovereignty enjoyed by the founding fathers at the time of the Declaration of Independence. He writes: "Freedom will come when enough of us throw off the lies and falsehoods we have been programmed to believe by this Judeo-Masonic society."[127]

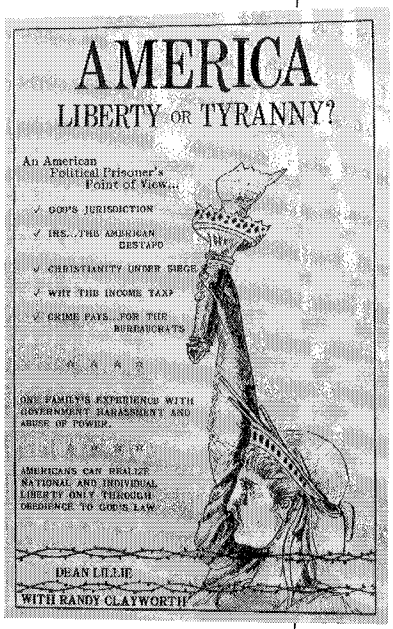
One final example of a regular *American's Bulletin* contributor who has peddled anti-Semitic and racist literature is John Prukop, the Puyallup, Washington head of We the People. Prukop, who has written articles for the *Bulletin* on such topics as the legal problems of Montana anti-Semite Red Beckman, was the self-proclaimed Washington State Press Secretary for Bo Gritz's 1992 presidential campaign. Throughout the campaign the Puyallup far right figure distributed materials by North Carolina Identity leader Nord Davis and by Bill Cooper, the author of *Behold a Pale Horse* which reprints the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* to convey his understanding of *The Conspiracy*.

The MCBA commitment to promoting race hatred and anti-Semitism becomes clear with a browse through the book list printed in the back of each issue of the *American's Bulletin*. The book list is broken into twelve sections covering topics ranging from tax and banking to Bible principles, history and a section ominously titled the "Jewish Issue." Nearly every section includes books by well know racists and anti-Semites. The Jewish Issue section includes such anti-Semitic tracts as the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, the Holocaust denying *Did Six Million Really Die, Jewish Religion : It's Influence Today* by Elizabeth Dilling and *The Secret Holocaust* by Eustace Mullins.

In the section on Bible principles the MCBA emerges as an ardent supporter of Christian Identity. Ten of the fifteen titles listed in the section are written by leading national proponents of the racist religion including Pete Peters' *The Bible: Handbook for Survivalists, Racists and Tax Protesters, Cinderella: A Bible Story* by the late Sheldon Emry, and books by Minnesota Identity leader and genocide advocate Charles Weisman such a *America: Free, White & Christian, Who is Esau-Edom, Sodomites on Trial, The Christian and Civil Government* and the *Handbook of Bible Law*.

Finally, the history section includes such tracts as *Our Nordic Race* and *War Cycles/Peace Cycles* by Richard Kelly Hoskins. The latter book is the first to describe Hoskins' ideas concerning the Phineas Priesthood, an honorary order granted by God to those who "righteously" engage in racist, anti-Semitic and homophobic murder.

The MCBA has also shown a willingness to take up electoral activity to advance its aims. In May 1992 the group hosted a weekend-long appearance by then presidential candidate James "Bo" Gritz at Nendels Convention Center in Medford, Oregon. Flyers advertising the meeting urged those interested to contact the "Committee to Elect 'Bo' Gritz" at the MCBA address while Robert Kelly promoted a June event at which signatures were collected to put Gritz on the ballot.[128]



As with most far right publications, the *American's Bulletin* has written voluminously about the August 1992 shoot-out between racist Randy Weaver and Federal Marshals in Naples, Idaho and the confrontation between Branch Davidians and the BATF in Waco, Texas, portraying both events as the outgrowth of an escalating government conspiracy against people because of their religious beliefs.

In a similar vein, the *Bulletin* took up the case of Billings, Montana-based tax protester

MCBA (Cont.)

Francis Christen
Serpent Slayer Publishers

Pete Peters

Charles Weisman

Richard Kelly Hoskins

Phineas Priesthood

Electoral Activity

Bo Gritz

Nord Davis

Bill Cooper

Randy Weaver
The Weaver siege in Northern Idaho

Waco

MCBA (Cont.)

Red Beckman
Tax Protest

Militia Organizing

C.H. McClendon
The New World Order and the need for citizen militias

Get America Up in Arms

National Commodity & Barter Association
(NCBA)

Denver, Colorado

John Grandbouche

John Voss

Danny Hashimoto

Richard Kelly Hoskins

and anti-Semite Red Beckman when he lost his property as a result of twenty years of tax evasion. By the time Beckman's case was coming to a head, a strong movement led by Montana and Northern Idaho racist and far right leaders was underway to form armed militias. The *American's Bulletin* jumped on the militia bandwagon, reprinting several articles promoting the formation of this armed wing of the movement.

The May 1994 *American's Bulletin* reprints an article titled "Understanding American Authority and the 'Militia' by the late C.H. McClendon. The article makes clear the future confrontation with the government envisioned by its author, the solution to which is the armed militia. It praises far right leader Arch Roberts for accurately describing "the U.N.O. world-government as a racist, socialist organization whose charter is programmed for national interdependence and a New World Order based on economic socialism, secular humanism and world-wide racial integration." The article then goes on to ask:

> ... [H]ow do we remove the nearly total control of non-voting artificial-entity corporations, and return control to informed sovereign individuals where Nature declares it belongs? We must arm, and defend our individual liberties with the same determination as those who first purchased our freedom over 200 years ago, mindful that "POWER COMES FROM THE BARREL OF A GUN...." Only by the activation of the UNORGANIZED MILITIA will we regain and reaffirm that honorable form of government.... Only they, better trained to draw aim on the dragon we war against, can defeat the corporate human group organism which would otherwise eat us all, and our children, alive.[129]

The *Bulletin* has also promoted the Militia of Montana, running an article by leader Randy Trochmann. In addition, the MCBA offers such books as William P. Fall's *Get America Up in Arms Irregular Warfare: The Militia* which outlines organization, tactics and techniques—including sabotage, ambushes, counter-intelligence and public relations—and the weapons involved in putting together a militia.[130]

National Commodity and Barter Association

Based in Denver, Colorado, the National Commodity and Barter Association was founded by the late John Grandbouche, a Posse Comitatus leader. Following Grandbouche's death in 1986, John Voss became the group's director. As with their Christian Patriot brethren, the NCBA offers as a centerpiece of its program a set of materials which claim to aid "patriots" in becoming "untaxed."

In recent years Danny Hashimoto of Lihue, Hawaii has become an NCBA rising star in untaxing circles, peddling videotapes on the tactics he has used in tax evasion trials and promoting the idea that "no individual is lawfully required to file income taxes."[131] In 1992 the NCBA awarded Hashimoto with the group's Paul Revere Award. The group also peddles "untaxing" advice written by Grandbouche and longtime NCBA activist John Pleasant.[132]

In addition to its untaxing materials, the group sells numerous tracts by leading figures in the racist movement. Among these are the late Sheldon Emry's *Billions for Bankers, Debts for the People*, Red Beckman's *Born Again Republic* and *War Cycles/Peace Cycles* by Richard Kelly Hoskins.[133]

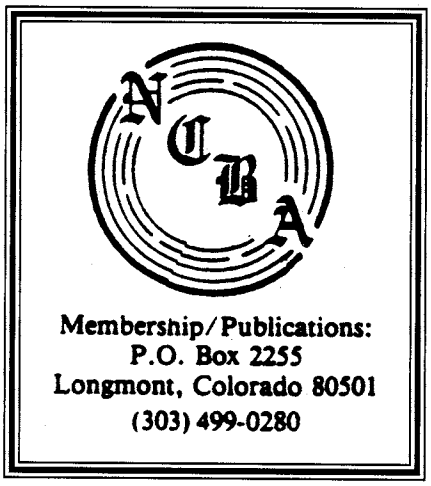
Another service offered to would-be tax protesters through the Association is its Mutual Assistance Plan. Through this plan the NCBA claims to offer members the "necessary expertise and financial assistance to defend

Documenting a Decade of Hate

themselves in court when a revenue department brings an illegal action against them or threatens to do so."[134] The program offers material support for civil actions, criminal actions, loss of time from work, incarceration and court ordered appearance surety bonds. In addition, it offers members financial support in conducting pro se cases.

The NCBA's largest contribution to the tax protest movement, however, comes from its long-time role as the leading national proponent of warehouse banking. Many in the Christian Patriot movement use "warehouse" banks to hide financial transactions from government scrutiny, a tactic which proves useful for persons interested in tax evasion. An NCBA manual states the rationale for its warehouse bank, the National Commodity Exchange (NCE) as follows:

> We assert the right to associate without government identification numbers, licenses or permits.... We assert the natural right to make agreements and contracts between each other without the permission of bureaucratic would-be-masters.... We claim the right to associate and contract privately. The right to privacy is essential in a free society and poses a threat only to a corrupt, prying government.[135]



While the NCBA claims that the NCE "does not exist to shield any illegal activity or funds derived from an illegal activity nor does it provide a shelter from lawful obligations,"[136] this has not been the conclusion of federal authorities interested in catching tax evaders.

In the course of the search for fugitive Gordon Kahl, federal authorities uncovered NCBA warehouse banks in Colorado, South Dakota, Minnesota and Iowa in which members had converted their money into silver bullion and gold South African Krugerrands. Acting on this information, in 1985 the IRS raided the banks, confiscating nearly ten tons of silver bullion in a tax evasion scam that authorities estimated involved over 20,000 people and processed over $500,000 per day.[137]

Despite its commitment to helping followers get out of the system through warehouse banking, tax evasion and its Mutual Assistance Program, the NCBA is a strong proponent of electoral activism. The group encourages members to become involved in one of the major parties, become active precinct committee people, to run candidates from "the patriot community" and to generally "work to elect statesmen who are concerned about their country and the freedoms of their fellow citizens."[138]

Eschewing the group's official advice of sticking to the two major parties, during the 1992 presidential elections Danny Hashimoto was a frequent supporter of James "Bo" Gritz, promoting a video of a New World Order Conference held in Hawaii that featured Gritz, Don McAlvany and Mitchell Beals.[139]

The electoral goals of the National Commodity and Barter Association hide an ultimate desire to mount a full frontal assault on democracy in America. A document written by NCBA leader John Pleasant titled "Understanding the History, Meaning, and Purpose of the Constitution" spells out the NCBA position on the idea of universal suffrage:

> Men and women, so long as they are not directly engaged in commerce and industry by the ownership of business stock or property, the management of corporate concerns, or investments in stocks, bonds or other speculative ventures subject to revenue taxation; and are not of an age rendering them liable to direct taxation in the form of a levy upon their person for military or alternative civil service, should not be considered qualified for suffrage.[140]

This radically anti-democratic aim is grounded in a fundamental NCBA position that civil rights, voting included, amount to an effort to plunder productive citizens:

> ...[T]he right not to be discriminated against

NCBA (Cont.)

Warehouse Banking
The NCBA with its associated National Commodity Exchange (NCE) warehouse bank is the most well-known of the Christian Patriot money laundering operations.

Refusing Licenses & Permits

Bo Gritz

Gordon Kahl
In the course of the Kahl investigation and man hunt federal authorities discovered NCBA warehouse banks in Colorado, South Dakota, Minnesota & Iowa moving as much as $500 thousand a day.

NCBA vs. Civil Rights

NCBA (Cont.)

American Freeman Association

John Pleasant
"Civil rights are legal plunder."

John Pleasant—

> on the basis of race, creed, color, sex, or age; the right to be free from sexual harassment at work; the right not to be discharged from employment for "whistle-blowing" or for exercising the right of free speech or political affiliation.... These are some of the "civil rights" which exist in our present society..., these "rights" are based on a system of "legal plunder." We regret that the term "plunder" must be used to accurately describe these rights. However, there is no other feasible name for what is being done under the name of "civil rights."[141]

The impact of the National Commodity and Barter Association on Pacific Northwest Christian Patriots has been considerable. The group held its First Annual Northwest Convention in March 1983 in Portland, Oregon. An early contact in the region was David Willis, who formed the American Freeman Association (AFA) and its affiliated warehouse bank called the National Currency Exchange located in Clackamas, Oregon. Court documents reveal that prior to operating the AFA Willis formed the Patriot Barter Association as an affiliate of the NCBA and that the AFA and National Currency Exchange were modeled closely on the NCBA and its warehouse bank the National Commodity Exchange.[142]

In the mid-1980s Willis and five cohorts, Muriel Reilly, Evelyne C. Pett, Glenn E. Willmschen, Melanie C. Pleasant and Diane L. Willis were tried and convicted of conspiracy and money laundering in connection with their association with the NCE. In a letter presented as evidence at his trial, Willis states in part:

> As of March 6, 1986 I am no longer Director of the American Freeman Association. The Directorship of the American Freeman Association and the National Currency Exchange has been turned over to Richard Flowers and Rodney Askelson.[143]

The letter was counter-signed by Richard Flowers of the Christian Patriot Association (CPA) which also operates a warehouse bank, the Natural Coin Exchange. The Christian Patriot Association has since become one of the leading Christian Patriot groups in the Pacific Northwest.[144] (See Christian Patriot Association profile above.)

Another Northwest figure influenced by the National Commodity and Barter Association is Arthur Hollowell, the former head of a warehouse bank called the National Community Exchange and the founder of the Medford Citizens Bar Association, which remains a leading group amongst Northwest Patriots. (See Medford Citizens Bar Association Profile above.)

Ida Nordquist of Seattle, Washington has been a local sponsor of NCBA events. In March 1992 she was listed as the contact for an appearance by Danny Hashimoto at a Seattle event dubbed the "The New Order Exposed and The N.C.B.A. Zero-Tax Seminar" which purported to expose the "New World Order..., J.F.K. assassination conspiracy..., [and] Internal Revenue Service FRAUD," and to teach attendees that the "INCOME TAX is 'Voluntary'—that there is no Internal Revenue Code section that requires individuals to file personal income tax returns."[145]

"The right not to be discriminated against on the basis of race, creed, color, sex, or age; the right to be free from sexual harassment at work; the right not to be discharged from employment for "whistle-blowing" or for exercising the right of free speech or political affiliation.... These are some of the "civil rights" which exist in our present society ..., these "rights" are based on a system of "legal plunder." We regret that the term "plunder" must be used to accurately describe these rights. However, there is no other feasible name for what is being done under the name of "civil rights."

Documenting a Decade of Hate

The Pilot Connection

The Pilot Connection

Phillip Marsh aka Milton Pilot, Jr.

Stockton, California

The Complete Patriot

The Jewish Conspiracy

Marsh— The 11th - 26th Amendments consitute Federal jurisdiction.

Des Griffin Praises the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*

"Untaxing"

State Citizens vs. 14th Amendment Citizens tax obligations

The Stockton, California-based Pilot Connection is led by Christian Patriot Phillip Marsh, whose actual name is Milton Pilot Jr., according to his own writings. The most complete source for Marsh's racist "Constitutional" theories is found in his 1986 book *The Complete Patriot*.[146]

As with most Christian Patriots, Marsh sees the United States in the grips of a Jewish banking conspiracy. In *The Complete Patriot*, Marsh reprints by permission a piece titled "The Master Plan" from Clackamas, Oregon anti-Semite Des Griffin's book *Fourth Reich of the Rich*. The "Master Plan," it turns out, is nothing more than Griffin's praise for the 19th century anti-Semitic tract the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, which Marsh's book also reprints in large part. Marsh describes the Protocols as a "set of rules" followed by Communists in their quest to dominate the world.

In addition, Marsh recommends Montana Christian Patriot "Red" Beckman's *The Church Deceived* as "the best book available to the patriot movement to explain the source of the conspiracy."[147] Beckman's book is an anti-Semitic diatribe which includes his notorious reference to the Holocaust as an act of God. Other materials promoted in this book include deceased Christian Identity leader Sheldon Emry's *Billions for Bankers, Debt for the People*, W. Cleon Skousens's *The Naked Capitalist* and far right leader Lindsay Williams' book *The Non-Energy Crisis*.

The result of *the Conspiracy*, Marsh explains, was the passage of the Eleventh through Twenty-sixth Amendments to the Constitution. Marsh writes that "these Amendments were put in by fraud for the purpose of committing one of the largest frauds of all, namely changing the form of our government."[148] Marsh describes this process as the beginning of a federal government effort to usurp state's rights and entrap state citizens:

> The Eleventh through Twenty-Sixth Amendments constitute what is known as Federal jurisdiction. These Amendments entrapped us into contracting away our rights.... [W]hen we study the Federalist Papers, we find that the founding fathers were violently against a federal (feudal) form of government. What they opted for was a national government.
>
> The difference between the two is that in a federal government setup the government is in control of the states, while in a national form of government the states are in control of the central government.[149]

The major portion of Marsh's emphasis is on the Sixteenth Amendment, which created the income tax. Drawing on the work of Beckman and on Christian Patriot Bill Benson's book *The Law That Never Was*, Marsh argues that the Sixteenth Amendment was never properly ratified and is unconstitutional. As such, an important part of Marsh's remedy for this "unconstitutional" situation is to become "untaxed."

The logic of this is simple, if inaccurate, and grounded in the racist Christian Patriot distinction between the rights and privileges of so-called State Citizens versus those of "Fourteenth Amendment citizens." Since the income tax is unconstitutional, Marsh argues, Patriots are under no obligation to file an income tax return. The obligation to pay, however, begins when the "sovereign citizen" enters into voluntary contracts with the various branches of government—applying for a Social Security number, obtaining a driver's license filing a tax return, etc. In the words of one Marsh supporter: "Once we volunteer into the system we

Pilot Connection (Cont.)

bind ourselves by contract to do so. Then and only then is filing and paying income taxes 'mandatory.'"[150]

To escape this contractual obligation, Marsh advocates revoking one's Social Security number and obligations to the IRS. Marsh reports that in early 1984 he did so, changing his name from Pilot to Marsh. In *The Complete Patriot*, Marsh reprints forms which he claims can be used for "revoking your signature on everything you ever signed for the IRS."[151] These forms state in part:

Challenging the IRS

> I do hereby challenge your (IRS) authority and/or jurisdiction in this matter, and do further rescind any and all signatures and/or contracts your agency may allege I have entered into with the Internal Revenue Service.[152]

Material distributed by North Star Consultants, a Seattle-based group that promotes Marsh's ideas, states that upon becoming untaxed: "We set ourselves back to being a Preamble citizen and get out from under the yoke of being a 14th amendment citizen . . . ," and we teach you "how to legally and permanently remove yourself from paying state and federal incomes taxes."[153]

Marsh appears to have developed a number of followers in Washington state. Two groups distributed pro-Marsh material at the October 1992 Preparedness Expo in Seattle, Washington. Both the Seattle-based Tax Alternatives and the Bothell-based Royal Essence of Graydon G. Collins distributed a flyer titled "Are You in FEAR of the IRS?" The flyer advertised copies of *The Complete Patriot*, promoted the idea that the income tax is voluntary and posed a series of true/false statements:

Seattle Preparedness Expo 1992

> I am helping to destroy the United States by filing and paying the IRS taxes?
>
> TRUE: The money all winds up in the hands of this country's enemies....
>
> The IRS is causing over 1,000 deaths per month in the United States. The IRS is responsible for over half the divorces in the United States. The IRS is responsible for three quarters of the bankruptcies in the United States today.
>
> TRUE: Can you afford to continue supporting such a domestic enemy? [154]

Bellingham, Washington residents Lorrie Czyzyk and Tom Eck have also promoted Marsh's material. In addition to distributing a pro-Marsh flyer in the Seattle area, the two have distributed *The Complete Patriot* through Michael's Books, a Bellingham-based used book store.

Marsh's most complete program for promoting white supremacist constitutional theories is an effort called the "New Nation USA" (NNUSA). Originally called Alter-USA, this Posse Comitatus-like effort was formed in 1984 by "S.A. Freeman," the editor of the Morongo Valley, California-based Christian Patriot newsletter called *The Citizens Claw*. New Nation USA calls for the creation of a "parallel" government in the United States which "recognizes only the organic United States Constitution."[155] Under the program, supporters send five dollars to either The Pilot Connection or *The Citizens Claw* and receive in return a "Pledge of Allegiance to NNUSA" which states:

New Nation USA (NNUSA)

NNUSA Pledge of Allegiance

> I pledge allegiance to the Constitution of the United States of America, and to the New Nation USA, the new cradle and new government in which the constitution temporarily rests, until, my former government and all of its public servants learn to honor and respect their oaths of office and obey our constitution to the letter.[156]

The pledge is then returned to the *Claw* or Pilot Connection, the supporter receiving a "citizenship certificate" and "wallet identification card." About this pledge, Marsh writes:

> When you sign a pledge of allegiance to NNUSA, you become subject to the laws of NNUSA.... Thus, NNUSA, recognizing only the organic Constitution, automatically restores the sovereignty of its citizens.[157]

While its founders claim that NNUSA "could be one of the most ambitious projects undertaken . . . and it has the potential . . . to literally wipe out unlawful government,"[158] the program in effect amounts to little more than one more pseudo-legal effort to "restore the sovereignty" of state citizens—in addition to being a money making scheme for its creators.

While NNUSA advocates little in the way

Documenting a Decade of Hate

of overt anti-government action, there is evidence that its key promoters envisioned it as a step along the way to eventual armed conflict. First, while the *Citizen's Claw* repeatedly describes NNUSA as "peaceful, non-violent" and an "alternative to revolution," Freeman also writes,

> There comes a time in the decline of a nation when men must either take some action or take up arms to protect their life, their liberty or their property. That time has now come to this once great nation of America.... [I]t is time for God-fearing people to get livid with righteous indignation and either restore LAWFUL government by any means necessary, outside of violence, or, if that doesn't work, resort to force of arms.[159]

"There comes a time in the decline of a nation when men must either take some action or take up arms to protect their life, their liberty or their property. That time has now come to this once great nation of America. It is time for God-fearing people to get livid with righteous indignation and either restore LAWFUL government by any means necessary, outside of violence, or, if that doesn't work, resort to force of arms."

Second, in *The Complete Patriot*, Marsh describes NNUSA as one of two projects which offer a "fighting chance for the people of these United States to recapture our government from the hands of... despotic tyrants." The second project Marsh describes is the Committee of the States. This group, the creation of which was concurrent with that of NNUSA, was founded in part by Christian Identity leader and Posse Comitatus co-founder William Potter Gale. In late 1986 Gale and five associates were arrested in connection with death threats issued to IRS officials and a Nevada judge. The six were convicted in October 1987 and Gale died before his one year sentence could be served.

In the Pacific Northwest, the NNUSA program was promoted by Ben Hinkle during the 1992 presidential campaign of James "Bo" Gritz as a Populist Party candidate in Washington state. Hinkle distributed a pamphlet describing NNUSA which was co-produced by Marsh and North Carolina Identity leader Nord Davis. At the time Hinkle was head of the Whatcom County, Washington chapter of the Populist Party, later forming his present organization Citizens for Liberty.

By early 1993 Freeman had created Operation Self-Defense as another money-making adjunct to New Nation USA. An advertisement for the program run in the March/April issue of Peggy Christensen's *Correspondent* describes the program as aimed at creating Citizen Law Enforcement Teams (CLETs)

> ... in order to create in the local community an "enforcement" arm to compel the Public Servant to obey and honor the U.S. Constitution and its Bill of Rights.[160]

Pilot Connection (Cont.)

S. A. Freeman—

Committee of the States

William Potter Gale

Ben Hinkle

Peggy Christensen

Republic v. Democracy Redress

Republic v. Democracy Redress

Oregon City, Oregon

BEHOLD!

Donald Pallet Citizenship arguments

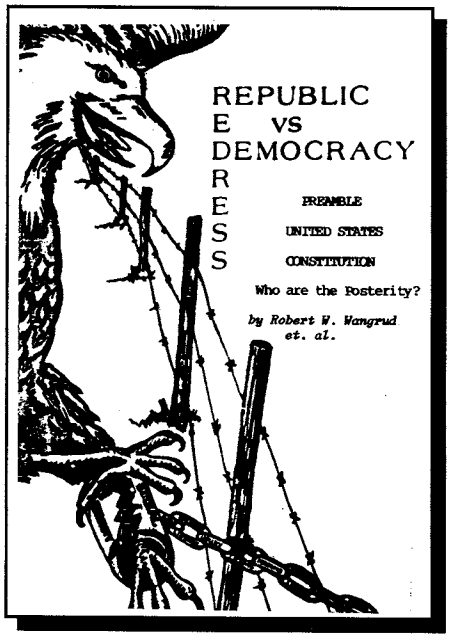
Robert Wangrud

Wangrud— There is only one race...

The Oregon City, Oregon-based group Republic v. Democracy Redress was originally envisioned as a sort of think tank for racists interested in taking up the judicial activism of the Christian Patriot movement. In the inaugural September 1986 issue of *BEHOLD!*, the group's publication, then editor Donald E. Pallet describes the aim of the group as keeping Patriots updated on "what different groups are attempting...[,] the successes and failures they are experiencing and what new information they have uncovered."

Pallet writes:

> By working closely with the staff of R.D.R. this newsletter will be able to access new information as it develops... (and report on cases) where the element of citizenship is being properly pleaded, as well as [print] articles which will reveal mistakes being made in pleading the citizenship issue.[161]



Robert Wangrud, the founder of the organization, initially intended that RDR issue regular two-page "Redress of Grievance" documents suitable for sending to U.S. Congress members and state legislators, describing the ultimate goal of RDR as obtaining a U.S. Supreme Court ruling on the issue of citizenship in the United States. RDR's limited organizational activity is aimed at spreading its views on properly advancing court tactics and arguments.

In an interview with the *Clackamas County Review*, Wangrud made clear the radically racist and anti-Semitic view of citizenship promoted by the group:

> There is only one race that founded this country and that is the white race. The Constitution recognizes this and clearly states that only white people can be citizens of the country. The 14th Amendment of course changed all that, but we feel it became law illegally and as such is not binding....
>
> We need to begin taking care of our own. People should also take a Christian oath of allegiance before taking any office. That would eliminate the religious cults like Hindus and Jews from taking power....
>
> Blacks really wouldn't care if they lost their rights. I mean look at the L. A. riots. Now can you really say that those people that burned the city down are capable of governing themselves? If the blacks don't like it here they should leave.[162]

In the vision of the United States promoted by Wangrud the government would deny the most basic human and constitutional rights to people of color and Jews. In the September 1986 issue of *BEHOLD!*, he states:

> The founding fathers were all of the white race and the Christian faith.... Therefore, in order to claim the protection of the Bill of Rights a man must assert, and be able to prove, that he is of the race, the faith and the law of the land. For it is the fundamental bedrock principles of one race, one faith, and one law that undergirds the entire structure of the Republic.[163]

While Wangrud is an unabashed racist and anti-Semite and has attended meetings of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations in Hayden Lake,

Documenting a Decade of Hate

Idaho, his writings and statements point to the kind of divisions found throughout the racist movement. Wangrud has criticized the Ku Klux Klan as obnoxious and neo-Nazis as "just full of crap," reporting that "I don't get along with Tom Metzger very well. Why anyone would want to follow Hitler is beyond me. Hitler was wrong."[164]

In the March 1987 issue of *BEHOLD!*, Wangrud expands on his differences with neo-Nazis:

> In this nation you have what is known as the Aryan Nations who believe that Hitler had the right idea as to the formation of government. The issue of Hitler has been argued back and forth pro and con. As I see it, Hitler was not all the jews [sic] claim he was, but Hitler is not all that the Aryan Nations claim he was either. Now Hitler was a national socialist and that doctrine of centralized governmental power was his hallmark....
>
> If anyone in this country can claim to be the national socialists in our government, it is not the Aryan Nations. Aryan Nations and the various nazi [sic] organizations in America don't even compare with the true national socialists in our government. Unlike Hitler, who was a staunch enemy of communism and its Jewish masters, these national socialists follow communist doctrine to further their ambitions.... At least the Aryan Nations people believe in true Christian doctrine, but their political view needs to be brought in line with the laws and ordinances of the God of Israel.[165]

This passage, with its criticism of the centralized government of the German National Socialists, appears to give Wangrud's group a libertarian veneer. Such aspects of Christian Patriot ideology have led to alliances with members of the Libertarian Party, as in the case of the Fully Informed Jury Association.

Wangrud's vision of the ideal state, as with that of all Christian Patriot bigots, however, includes a massive intervention into the personal lives of people of color and Jews, including not only their exclusion from the protections of the Bill of Rights, but an invigorated state committed to enforcing the repressive and tenets of Wangrud's racist religion.

Wangrud has written:

> God's law and ordinances [are] to be enforced here on earth at our demand.... Imagine, when we do obey the laws of the God of Israel and the laws of this nation, and satan [sic] goes before our Father and accuses us, will not the God of Israel find Satan to be bearing false witness against us and will not the God of Israel then enforce his laws and ordinances on Satan and all of his dominions? ...Will not those who are not of Christ then be within our power instead of vice-versa?[166]

Republic v. Democracy Redress (Cont.)

Wangrud— God's laws condemn the Jews.

Wangrud— Aryan Nations and Nazis are un-American

Wangrud—

"Will not the God of Israel find Satan to be bearing false witness against us and will not the God of Israel then enforce his laws and ordinances on Satan and all of his dominions? Will not those who are not of Christ then be within our power instead of vice-versa?"

Wangrud claims to have established a number of contacts in Washington state, including Ed Atkinson in Yakima, Rod Strand in Chelan and Ed Stubblefield in Chehalis.[167] Wangrud's group has also established ties with far right leaders in Montana. In July 1993, Randy Giesler, a long-time contributor to *BEHOLD!*, was a scheduled speaker at a "patriotic" barbecue in Potomac, Montana, a farming community about twenty-five miles north of Missoula. Sponsored by Matthew Gerawan and Loran Cook of Potomac, the meeting played on the themes epitomized by the libertarian-like components of Christian Patriot belief described above. Also featured was far right conspiracy weaver John Coleman, author of *The Conspirators Hierarchy: The Committee of the 300.*[168]

Washington Contacts:
Ed Atkinson
Rod Strand
Ed Stubblefield

Montana Contacts:
Randy Giesler
Matt Gerawan
Loran Cook

State Citizens Service Center

State Citizens Service Center

Canoga Park, California

Richard J. McDonald

Patriots in Cyberspace

McDonald—

The Canoga Park, California-based State Citizens Service Center has done more than any Christian Patriot group to take the Patriot message into cyberspace. Using a nationwide computer BBS, the group's founder Richard J. McDonald has made Christian Patriot legal tactics available to anyone with a computer and a modem. As with many Christian Patriot groups, the Service Center focuses on providing followers with the pseudo-legal means of revoking their federal citizenship, offering a "Citizenship kit" which will "walk you through the basic steps to restore common-law Citizenship."[169]

> **"The 14th Amendment federal citizen... is a second class citizen... who has congressionally granted privileges that are almost equal to the White Citizen. I say almost because these privileges are secured against a debt of submission to the morality legislated by Congress."**

The brand of citizenship described in the group's regular BBS newsletter *The Patriot* leaves little doubt about its bigoted agenda. The Service Center asks:

McDonald— What kind of a citizen are you?

> What kind of citizen are you? Are you a 14th Amendment federal citizen, or are you a Citizen of the several States, as described in the Constitution as it was originally intended by the Founding Fathers?[170]

The answer places the organization firmly in the camp of the white supremacist movement:

Freeborn White State Citizens

> A free born White State Citizen in the several States, is an individual whose inalienable rights are recognized, secured and protected by the various State Constitutions against State actions and against federal intrusion....
>
> The 14th Amendment federal citizen, who is a second class citizen... who has congressionally granted privileges that are almost equal to the White Citizen. I say almost because these privileges are secured against a debt of submission to the morality legislated by Congress (including Income Tax).[171]

The racist consitutionalism of the State Citizens Service Center leads the group to positions which appear similar to those espoused by Christian Right organizations. However, the end result diverges from Christian Right anti-gay bigotry and anti-choice stances to betray the core Christian Patriot belief system:

> Homosexuality and lesbianism are a violation of the common law and the Bible, upon which this Nation and all of the State Constitutions were written. These were against the Law, so was indiscriminate abortion....
>
> In the so-called 14th Amendment the word "born" is used, signifying that the citizenship and protection of the so-called 14th Amendment do not operate until they are "born" (i.e. left the womb).... So, in this jurisdiction, those not born are not persons and have no protections. The privileges Congress has granted can be taken away at any time it is in the best interest of Congress to do so. These are commonly called "civil rights."
>
> The Preamble to the Constitution of the United States of America (1787) utilized the word "Posterity" signifying that the future Citizen (Capital C) has this solid protection from the date of conception....
>
> So, for those of you who do not have primary State Citizenship of the Union first, and are not State Citizens first... abortions for any reason are legal.[172]

This same view of abortion, though argued

through a more crass reference to a desired reduction in the population of people of color, is often found in the writings of Klan groups and neo-Nazis.

Perhaps the Center's largest impact on Northwest Christian Patriots has been through the close relationship of Service Center promoter Doug Olsen to far right leader James "Bo" Gritz. Olsen, who has appeared as a "sovereignty" expert in Gritz's SPIKE Trainings, was on hand at a Gritz speech in February 1994 in Beaverton, Oregon. At the event he distributed copies of *The Patriot* and sold a set of computer disks produced by the group.[173] Gritz has also recommended the Service Center as the best of the state citizenship programs at his Preparedness Expo lectures.[174]

The Patriot has also been distributed in the central Montana town of Lewiston where Christian Patriot activity escalated in late 1993 as Posse Comitatus-type courts were held to issue "indictments" against local government and law enforcement officials. Deputies in the town have been charged by local Christian Patriot leaders and placed under "arrest." Leaders in the local Christian Patriot group included Leroy Schweitzer and Jay Brand. Schweitzer was sought by law enforcement officials in late 1993 for failure to pay back taxes, while Brand was arrested and simultaneously jailed for his failure to provide records in a worker's compensation trial.[175]

State Citizens Serivice Center

Bo Gritz

SPIKE

Preparedness Expos

Leroy Schweitzer

Jay Brand

Survival Center

The Survival Center has operated from its base in McKenna, Washington since the early 1980s. Describing itself as "the largest health and survival products center in the country"[176] the group peddles an array of merchandise such as dehydrated food kits, storage containers, water purifiers and camping equipment. Advertisements for the Center appear regularly in survivalist publications such as the *American Survivalist* while the group distributes a "survival" catalogue containing nearly 1,300 titles on subjects ranging from allergy prevention and plant identification to shelter construction and weapons and explosives manufacture.

Under the direction of president Dick Mankamyer, the Survival Center appeals to a clientele interested in survivalism, alternative health care and other subjects of interest outside the organized racist movement. The group is, however, firmly rooted in the Christian Patriot movement—praising the movement's leadership, peddling an array of racist and anti-Semitic books and providing violently-minded racists with the practical tools needed to prepare for the impending race war.

A copy of the Survival Center Book List distributed at the Puyallup Preparedness Expo '92 includes numerous tracts by racist leaders. Among these are *Martial Law Rule* by Oregon City anti-Semite Robert Wangrud, *War Cycles/Peace Cycles* by murder advocate Richard Kelly Hoskins, several books by veteran anti-Semite Eustace Mullins and James "Bo" Gritz's long-winded *Called to Serve*. The group also distributes books by far right leader Lindsey Williams, John Coleman's *Conspirator Hierarchy: The Committee of 300* and Bill Cooper's *Behold a Pale Horse*, which includes a reprint of the anti-Semitic *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. The group also sells videotapes by Gritz, Williams, Cooper, far right leader Don McAlvaney and Gerald "Jack" McLamb.[177]

In addition to promoting such material, the Survival Center has sponsored seminars which promote the core Christian Patriot distinction between white state citizens and 14th Amendment citizens. For instance, in October 1992 the group held a Constitutional History Seminar on the topic of "Constitutional Free-

Survival Center McKenna, Washington

Survivalism

Richard Hoskins
Bo Gritz
Eustace Mullins

Constitutional History Seminar

Survival Center (Cont.)

14th Amendment Citizens

dom vs. 14th Amendment Slavery" purporting to teach attendees about the "two different kinds of citizenship":

> Though we have been taught that the 13th and 14th Amendments freed those of the African race, it is readily apparent from the holdings of the Supreme Court of the United States that those amendments are being used to bring back into the United States a condition of voluntary servitude....
>
> Congress, in the Internal Revenue Code, chose to tax the 14th Amendment citizen or resident of the United States.... However, the white man who, according to numerous Supreme Court rulings, has received nothing from the 14th Amendment, is referred to as a nonresident alien individual in the code....
>
> No American is going to look under "nonresident alien individual" in the Internal Revenue Code to determine the tax applicable to him. Mistakenly, they... file a return, and when they do, they comply with all the requirements necessary to make an election to be taxed like a 14th Amendment citizen. This election is cleverly disguised and deceptively worded, many feel, within Internal Revenue Code and applicable regulations authorized by the Congress of the United States. This election is, of course, voluntary, but once it has been made, there is nothing voluntary about it thereafter. WELCOME TO VOLUNTARY SERVITUDE, AMERICA.[178]

Preparedness Expos

PREPAREDNESS EXPO '93

The Best of 1993
Audio & Video Cassettes

Voluntary Servitude

Weapons and Paramilitary Training Manuals

The Survival Center has come to be a regular fixture at the Preparedness Expos which combine presentations by far right leaders with practical advice on taking precautions for an apocalyptic crisis in America. Mankameyer has been a featured speaker at seminars held at these events and the group has sponsored a booth at the events since 1991. As the Center's literature makes clear, the group views the Expos as a victory for the movement:

> The Survival Center attended both the Spokane and Seattle Expos. Quality is the one word I would use to describe them. Quality Speakers, Quality Vendors and Quality attendees. We have been attending Expos like this for the past 20 years and I definitely felt a new, exciting higher level of awareness than ever before. People wanted to know the issues, were eager and willing to learn and took advantage of the products and services available to them.... With others like Col. "Bo" Gritz, Officer Jack McLamb and Lindsey Williams speaking out, the information is now getting to all those interested.[179]

The Survival Center's role in the Preparedness Expos forged a place for the group amongst the constituency that backed Gritz's 1992 presidential bid. When Gritz intervened in the August 1992 stand-off between Federal Marshals and racist Randy Weaver in Northern Idaho, the Survival Center joined the fray of racists and anti-Semites that sought to build support for Weaver. Throughout late 1992 the center promoted the United Citizens for Justice, the Naples, Idaho group formed by racist leaders to call for a grand jury investigation into the Weaver case. In its newsletter, the Center reprinted the United Citizen's "Mission Statement" and urged people to contact the Idaho group for "help in setting up a chapter or a meeting in your area."[180]

The Survival Center's promotion of groups like the United Citizens for Justice and ongoing role in the Preparedness Expos are of particular concern. The formation of militias by former United Citizens leaders such as John Trochmann and Eva Vail Lamb and the weapons and survival training promoted by Bo Gritz through his SPIKE training can be aided by the resources offered by groups such as the Survival Center. The group provides an array of practical resources useful in the development of armed militias bent on advancing the racist movement through paramilitary preparedness. For instance, in addition to its litany of racist tracts, the Survival Center sells an assortment of manuals covering a full range of weapons-related skills. The list of books offered by the group on this subject is daunting, including such works as *Munitions Vol. I-III, Improvised Weapons of American Underground, Infantry Scouting and Sniping, Home Workshop: Guns for Defense II, Home Workshop: Silencers I, How to Make and Use Custom Knives*, and *Mini-14 Super* Systems.[181]

Chapter 2

Endnotes

Notes for Pages 2.3 - 2.8

[1] Preparedness Shows, P.O. Box 25454, Salt Lake City, Utah 84125, Dan Chittock, director.

[2] The catalogue for the Seattle Preparedness Expo '93 (Preparedness Shows, P.O. Box 25454, Salt Lake City, Utah 84125), for example, lists seventy-five venders including the Survival Center which hawks food storage, wilderness gear and hunting equipment and the Light Energy Company, featuring "Portable, Battery-Operated Phototherapy Units using Safe Red Light-Emitting-Diodes (LED) for Pain Relief and many therapeutic applications," as well as Patriot services like those provided by the Seattle-based organization Tax Alternatives which claims that they "Remove People From Paying Federal and State Income Tax Legally & Permanently," and also Patriot leaders like Bo Gritz and Jack McLamb and ideologues like Don McAlvany and Lawrence Pratt.

[3] Dealers like Bohica Concepts, CPA Books and *The Jubilee* distribute publications such as Richard Kelly Hoskins' *Vigilantes of Christendom*, glorifying racist murder, William Pierce's neo-Nazi novel *The Turner Diaries*, and *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* by Arthur Butz, part of the growing neo-Nazi genre of Holocaust denial, as well as U.S. Army manuals on guerrilla warfare, improvised munitions and the like.

[4] There is considerable debate within the Christian Patriot movement about the exact locus or center of *The Conspiracy*, but virtually no one in the movement doubts that there is such a conspiracy, which for movement activists is a metaphysical concept, beyond question, emphatic and always pronounced with capital letters and always proceeded by a definitive article.

[5] Jack McLamb, "Winning the Battle to Preserve Liberty" lecture at Seattle Preparedness Expo '94, September 10, 1994. Audio and videotapes are available through Preparedness Shows, P.O. Box 25454, Salt Lake City, Utah 84125.

[6] Typical of conspiracy theorists of all kinds, McLamb doesn't bother to provide the details of how his friend David Gamier, by his description an agent for the NYPD "Red Squad," came into close contact with agents of the elite global conspiracy. Such minor discrepancies rarely concern Christian Patriot loyalists who have an a priori belief in the conspiracy and are only interested in arguing about who is ultimately behind it.

[7] Note that Christian Patriot conspiracy theories, even when they are not specifically anti-Semitic, owe their structure and historical development to ideas developed by anti-Semites. Also note that for many Patriots the various groups are interchangeable and synonymous with Jews or are controlled by Jews.

[8] Flyer produced by Northpoint Tactical Teams (circa 1990), Seattle, Washington.

[9] Note that for Christian Patriots "civil rights" are considered to be alienable and to apply to "14th Amendment Citizens"—i.e. people of color—whereas "Constitutional rights" are inalienable and apply to "Constitutional Citizens"—i.e. white people who owe their citizenship to their state residence. Most Patriots argue that the 14th Amendment—ratified in the wake of the Civil War to extend the right of citizenship and equal protection under the law to former slaves—is not only invalid, but part of *The Conspiracy* to undermine the sovereignty of the United States and take away the rights of its sovereign citizens.

[10] James "Bo" Gritz, "The Government: How to Taken 'em on and Win!" lecture at Las Vegas Preparedness Expo '93. Audio and video tapes are available through Preparedness Shows, P.O. Box 25454, Salt Lake City, Utah 84125.

[11] See *Bitter Harvest: Gordon Kahl and the Posse Comitatus: Murder in the Heartland* (Penguin, 1990), by James Corcoran for details on the Kahl case.

[12] Patriots constitute as much as 60% of the 25,000 total hard-core white supremacists active in the United States, according to estimates by an Atlanta-based clearinghouse on hate group activity, the Center for Democratic Renewal (*When Hate Groups Come to Town: A Handbook of Effective Community Responses*, Second Edition [Atlanta: Center for Democratic Renewal & The Black Belt Press, 1992], p. 48).

[13] Assoc. de Libertas lecture on "Citizenship" by Glen Ambort, videotapes from the Association de Libertas.

Preparedness Expo '94

Christian Patriot Conspiracy Theory/ Anti-Semitism

Expo Dealers

The Conspiracy

Bo Gritz

Gordon Kahl

Jack McLamb

Patriots and the White Supremacist Movement

Association de Libertas

Notes for Pages 2.8 - 2.17

Association de Libertas

Barrister's Inn

George Gordon

Red Beckman

Concerned Citizens of Idaho

Christian Patriot Association (CPA)

Richard Flowers

14 Ibid.
15 *The Populist*, no. 7 (circa September 1992), distributed at the Seattle Preparedness Expo '92, held October 2 – 4, 1992 at the Seattle Center.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
18 Ravalli, Montana *Republic*, September 28, 1993.
19 Ravalli, Montana *Republic*, September 22, 1993.
20 *Portland Alliance,* September 1990.
21 The Barrister's Inn promotional flyer lists only a contact phone number in the western Washington town of Renton. The flyer was distributed at the Puyallup Preparedness Expo '91, held October 4, 5 & 6 at the Puyallup Fairgrounds in Puyallup, Washington.
22 "George and Jackie's Statement of Purpose," (circa 1985), George Gordon's School of Common Law, P.O. Box 297, Isabella, Missouri 65676.
23 Ibid.
24 Phillip Marsh, *The Complete Patriot* (6333 Pacific Ave, Suite 334, Stockton, California 95207: The Pilot Connection, 1986), p.55. Marsh, aka Milton Pilot Jr., is the founder of the Stockton, California-based organization Pilot Connection, which sells do-it-yourself state citizenship kits.
25 Red Beckman, *The Church Deceived* (P.O. Box 1544, Billings, Montana 59103: Common Sense Press, 1984), p. 42-43.
26 Red Beckman, *Walls in Our Minds*, (Billings, Montana: Common Sense Press, 1990), p.51.
27 Despite Beckman's insistence that he would not be moved off of the property, his house was eventually bulldozed to the ground and his personal property seized and sold at auction to pay his back taxes.
28 Montana Human Rights Network, "Background Report on Red Beckman and his supporters who gathered at 'No More Wacos' Meeting in Billings, MT on January 29 and 30, 1994."
29 *The American's Bulletin*, vol. 13, no.1 (January 1994).
30 Ibid.
31 CPA Book Publisher, "CPA Book Catalogue 1993 – 94," (P.O. Box 598, Boring, Oregon 97009, undated [circa 1993]).
32 Ibid, p.40.
33 Ibid.
34 Des Griffin, "Will America Be Bushwhacked by the United Nations?"*The Patriot Review*, vol. 6, no. 1 (April 1991), p.11.
35 James "Bo" Gritz, "Get Mad and Let God Get Even" in *The Patriot Review*, vol./no. not printed, (August/ September 1993), p.7.
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
38 *Clackamas County Review*, May 28 – June 3, 1992.
39 Ibid.
40 Both Irving lectures were photographed and videotaped, clearly depicting Flower's unmistakable presence and numerous eyewitnesses also place him at the scene.
41 *Clackamas County Review*, May 28 – June 3, 1992, emphasis added.
42 Ibid.
43 For example the Phase I SPIKE training held at the Best Western Inn at the Coliseum in Portland, March 6, 1993. A flyer for the event titled "BO GRITZ" above and "Center for Action" below listed the area contact as "Christian Patriot Assn. (503) 668-4941."
44 For example, Flowers appears on stage with Gritz during Gritz's "The Government: How to Taken 'em on and Win!" lecture at Las Vegas Preparedness Expo '93. Audio and videotapes are available through Preparedness Shows, P.O. Box 25454, Salt Lake City, Utah 84125.
45 Christian Patriot Association/Natural Coin Exchange brochure "Warehouse Exchange Explained," undated (circa 1988), 33838 S.E. Kelso Road, #6, P.O. Box 596, Boring, Oregon 97009.
46 Ibid.
47 *Willis vs. United States*, Muriel Reilly, Evelyne C. Pett, Glenn E. Willmschen, Melanie C. Pleasant and Diane L. Willis were tried and convicted of conspiracy and money laundering along with Willis.
48 *Willis vs. United States*, Defendant's Exhibit 1,000, a letter dated May 6, 1986.
49 *Portland Alliance*, September 1990.
50 Phone interview with U.S. Militia leader Samuel Sherwood, September 22, 1994.
51 Audio and video tapes of this event, sometimes referred to as the "Gathering of Christian Men" are distributed by Peters' Scriptures for America Ministries, at P.O. Box 766, LaPorte, Colorado 80535. The meeting was called to strategize a "Christian" response to the Weaver siege.
52 Idaho Liberty Network's Public Lands Conference, April 23, 1994 in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho. Videotapes of the event are distributed by the Militia of Montana, P.O. Box 1486, Noxon, Montana 59853.
53 Ibid.
54 *Idaho State Journal*, August 1, 1994, from an Associated Press wire story.
55 Idaho Liberty Network's Public Lands Conference, April 23, 1994 in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho. Video tapes of the event are distributed by the Militia of Montana, P.O. Box 1486, Noxon, Montana 59853.
56 Ibid. Note that posse Comitatus is literally "the power of the county," from the Latin, referring to the able-bodied citizens of a county or district who are able to come to the aid of legitimate authorities when called to do so. Do not confuse the general concept with either the specific extra-legal organizations that arose in the 1970s and 1980s, or the Posse Comitatus Act, which is a federal law passed by Congress in the wake of the Civil War prohibiting federal troops from participation in local law enforcement.
57 Idaho Liberty Network's Public Lands Conference, April 23, 1994 in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho. Video tapes of the event are distributed by the Militia of Montana, P.O. Box 1486, Noxon, Montana 59853.

Documenting a Decade of Hate

[58] Unless otherwise indicated information on the July 23, 1994 "Patriot Picnic" held at Ramsey Park in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho is taken from eyewitness accounts, any direct quotations are transcribed from contemporaneous notes.

[59] Idaho Sovereignty Association pamphlet "Declaring the Spirit of '76," (Box 2583, Boise, Idaho 83701: Idaho Sovereignty Association, undated [circa 1994]), emphasis in original.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Spokane *Spokesman-Review*, July 30, 1994.

[62] Idaho Falls *Post Register*, August 1, 1994; Montana Human Rights Network, *A Season of Discontent: Militias, Constitutionalists, and the Far Right in Montana* (Montana Human Rights Network, 1994), p.9.

[63] Idaho Falls *Post Register*, August 1, 1994.

[64] *Idaho Statesman*, August 4, 1994.

[65] A phone interview with Hunter on October 1, 1994 confirmed USMA involvement in organizing the Frank Pepper event and the USMA office confirmed that Hunter is a USMA representative.

[66] Twin Falls, Idaho *Times-News*, September 5, 1994.

[67] Pete Peters, *The Bible: Handbook for Survivalists, Racists, Tax Protesters, Militants and Right-Wing Extremists* (LaPorte, Colorado: Scriptures for America, undated [circa 1990], p.5.

[68] Fully Informed Jury Initiative flyer titled "True or False?" circulated by the Fully Informed Jury Association, P.O. Box 59, Helmville, Montana 59843.

[69] Red Beckman, *Walls in Our Minds* (Billings, Montana: Common Sense Press,1990), p.9-10. Note the idea that the jury should be a center of political activity is common in Posse Comitatus circles. Jack McLamb, the former police officer who specializes in recruiting law officers into the Christian Patriot movement, supports Fully Informed efforts, but argues that the key is converting law enforcement officers, that way whatever laws are passed or decisions handed down, only those approved by Patriots will be enforced.

[70] *FIJActivist*, Spring 1990.

[71] Montana Human Rights Network, *Network News Flash*, October 1993.

[72] Golden Mean Team flyer, undated (circa 1993).

[73] Golden Mean Team promotional mailing, undated (circa 1993).

[74] *The Correspondent*, March/April 1993.

[75] Ibid.

[76] *The Monitor*, Center for Democratic Renewal, May 1990, p.5.

[77] *The Correspondent*, March/April 1993, p.3.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Golden Mean Team promotional flyer, udated (circa 1986).

[81] See "The POW/MIA Myth" by H. Bruce Franklin in *The Atlantic Monthly* (December 1991), pp. 45-81, for a run down on the MIA issue and Gritz's role; see also "Bo Knows Politics: Klansmen, Christics, Clowns and Gritz's Populist Party" by Jim Pate in *Soldier of Fortune* (September 1992), for background on Gritz's exaggerated credentials.

[82] The *Spotlight* is the flagship publication of the white supremacist movement in the United States with approximately 100,000 subscribers. Its founder, veteran anti-Semite Willis Carto, is also the force behind the Liberty Lobby and the founder of Noontide Press and the Institute for Historical Review, organizations dedicated to proving that the Holocaust never happened (Carto recently lost control of these latter organizations in a bitter faction fight). Carto was also one of the main forces behind the formation of the Populist Party.

[83] *The Populist Observer*, no. 27 (April 1988).

[84] *Oregonian*, January 12, 1992.

[85] Flying Focus Video Collective interview with James "Bo" Gritz, January 10, 1992 in Wilsonville, Oregon.

[86] The impromptu press conference was held on March 4, 1993 outside of the courtroom of Judge Donald Swink after a complaint filed by Gritz and Christian Patriot Association leader Richard Flowers against the Portland Airport Sheraton had been dismissed. The Sheraton had canceled a scheduled Gritz appearance on grounds that the organization booking the event had misrepresented itself (*Oregonian*, March 5, 1993).

[87] Coalition for Human Dignity researchers and representatives were on hand at the brief hearing and ensuing press conference to hear and record Gritz's remarks.

[88] Letter from Bo Gritz to Willis Carto dated January 3, 1992 published in the May 1992 issue of *The Monitor*, the newsletter of the Center for Democratic Renewal, P.O. Box 50469, Atlanta, Georgia 30302 (404) 221-0025.

[89] Ibid.

[90] From excerpts of Gritz's speech reprinted in the December 1991 issue of *The Monitor*, the newsletter of the Center for Democratic Renewal, P.O. Box 50469, Atlanta, Georgia 30302 (404) 221-0025.

[91] Ibid.

[92] Ibid.

[93] *The Jubilee*, March/April 1992. The "interview" is constructed as a three part dialogue between *Jubilee* editor Paul Hall, Gritz and Pastor Ted Weiland

[94] Pete Peters, *Intolerance of, Discrimination Against and the Death Penalty for Homosexuals is Prescribed in the Bible, Scriptures for America* (LaPorte, Colorado: Scriptures for America,1992).

[95] *The Jubilee*, March/April 1992.

[96] Despite the official split, Gritz and Peters still travel in the same circles, for example both were present at "No More Wacos" meeting called by Red Beckman in Billings, Montana January 29 - 30, 1994.

[97] *Center for Action Newsletter*, vol. 3, no. 8 (March 1994), p. 2, emphasis in the original. Center for Action, 1106 N. Gilbert Rd. #2114, Mesa, Arizona 85203.

[98] *Clackamas County Review*, May 28 – June 3, 1992.

Notes for Pages 2.17 –2.23

Bo Gritz
(Gritz Notes from 81 – 123)

Fully Informed Jury Association

Notes for Pages 2.23 - 2.27

Gritz Notes (Cont.)

(All notes on this page, both columns are from the Gritz profile.)

Gritz (Cont.)

Gritz (Cont.)

Gritz (Cont.)

99 See, for example, *A Scriptural Understanding of the Race Issue* by Pete Peters (LaPorte, Colorado: Scriptures for America,1991).

100 *Clackamas County Review*, May 28 – June 3, 1992.

101 Ibid, emphasis added.

102 Ibid.

103 For example the SPIKE training held at Portland's Coliseum Best Western on March 6, 1994 was organized for Gritz by Flowers and the Christian Patriot Association. Accounts of the training and the events leading up to it were recorded in the *Oregonian*, March 5 & March 7, 1993.

104 For example Flowers appeared on stage with Gritz at the Las Vegas Preparedness Expo '93 during Gritz's "The Government: How to Take 'em on and Win!" lecture, (video and audio tapes available from Preparedness Shows, P.O. Box 25454, Salt Lake City, Utah 84125). Gritz calls Flowers to the stage and recommends him to the audience as a source for gold and silver and alternative banking services.

105 Twin Falls, Idaho *Times-News*, August 17, 1994; Kellogg, Idaho *News Press*, August 17, 1994. Specific information about Gritz's response to the question about Flowers is derived from eyewitness reports.

106 Jack McLamb, "Winning the Battle to Preserve Liberty" lecture at Seattle Preparedness Expo '94, September 10, 1994. Audio and video tapes are available through Preparedness Shows, P.O. Box 25454, Salt Lake City, Utah 84125.

107 Twin Falls, Idaho *Times-News*, August 17, 1994

108 For a detailed background on the origins of the modern Populist Party see *It's Not Populism: America's New Populist Party—A Fraud by Racist and Anti-Semites*, Center for Democratic Renewal and the Klanwatch Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center, Atlanta, Georgia: 1984; and see also *Ballot-Box Bigotry: David Duke and the Populist Party*, Center for Democratic Renewal, Atlanta, Georgia: 1990.

109 The 1992 Gritz campaign ended up statistically insignificant, garnering 2.13% of the vote in Idaho, 0% in Oregon (he failed to qualify for ballot access) .21% in Washington state and .89% in Montana. Gritz's highest percentage in the country was gained in Utah, 3.84%. (*Ballot Access News,* vol. 8, no.10 [December 10, 1992].

110 James "Bo" Gritz, *Called to Serve* (Sandy Valley, Nevada: Lazarus Publishing Company, 1991), p.609.

111 *Center for Action Newsletter*, vol. 3, no. 6 (January 1994), p.6.

112 Ibid, p.7.

113 Ibid, p.8.

114 Literally, "Shield of David."

115 Campaign material mailed prior to the November 1992 election lists Flowers as the Oregon Campaign director. Flowers is also listed on an America First Coalition "Bo Gritz National Presidential Campaign Committee Contact list of Chairpersons for Each State" circulated prior to the election by the America First! Coalition. (circa September 1992), hereafter "AFC List."

116 "AFC List."

117 Prukop regularly mailed out Davis' tabloid to those interested.

118 Temple organized a speaking event in April 1992 for Gritz in Kalispell and was co-chair, along with Gary Crider, of the United Citizens for Justice, a defunct Christian Patriot outfit that coordinated support for Randy Weaver following the siege in Naples, Idaho in August and September, 1992. Prior to his move to Montana, Temple was an organizer with the Populist Party in New York state. See "Recent Events in Bonners Ferry, Idaho," (Atlanta: Center for Democratic Renewal, March 1993), memorandum.

119 Populist Party leaders listed as "chairpersons" on the "AFC List" include Phil Chesler of Arkansas and Missouri (also national treasurer), Howard Fields of Colorado, John Justice of Illinois (also a member of the executive committee), Lucy Covington of Indiana, Ed Bailey of Michigan, A.J. Barker of North Carolina, Victor Sestokas of New Jersey (also a member of the executive committee), and Ted Nadalen of New York.

120 Jack McLamb, "Winning the Battle to Preserve Liberty" lecture at Seattle Preparedness Expo '94, September 10, 1994. Audio and videotapes are available through Preparedness Shows, P.O. Box 25454, Salt Lake City, Utah 84125.

121 Except, of course, with Patriots who took Gritz's successful intervention in the Weaver siege as proof that he was a government agent.

122 The Center for Action is essentially a mail order house, advertising in its own newsletter *Center for Action Newsletter*. The materials referred to above have been listed for sale in virtually every issue of the newsletter published in the last two years.

123 Gritz called Flowers, a State Citizens Service Center representative and Stanford up on stage to promote their services at his "The Government: How to Take 'em on and Win!" lecture at the Las Vegas Preparedness Expo '93. Video and audio tapes of the lecture are available from Preparedness Shows, P.O. Box 25454, Salt Lake City, Utah 84125.

124 *American's Bulletin,* April 1994, p.9, emphasis in original.

125 Serpent Slayer Publishers, P.O. Box 8066, Medford, Oregon 97504.

126 *American's Bulletin*, December 1993, p.11.

127 Ibid.

128 *Central Valley Times*, May 20, 1992.

129 C. H. McClendon, "Understanding American Authority and the 'Militia" reprinted in *American's Bulletin*, May 1994, p.11, emphasis in original.

130 *American's Bulletin*, April and May 1994.

131 National Commodity and Barter Association, "Handbook and Book List," undated (circa 1992). Contact

addresses are Danny Hashimoto, P.O. Box 3228, Lihue, Hawaii 96766 and Sharon Voss, NCBA Publications, P.O. Box 2255 Longmont, Colorado 80501. Publications listed include: *A Declaration of Financial Independence* by John Grandbouche and *The 1040 Report* by John Pleasant.

132 Ibid.

133 Ibid.

134 Ibid, no page numbers.

135 Ibid, no page numbers.

136 Ibid, no page numbers.

137 James Corcoran, *Bitter Harvest: Gordon Kahl and the Posse Comitatus* (New York: Penguin, 1990); see also *Armed and Dangerous* by James Coates (New York: Noonday Press, 1987).

138 National Commodity and Barter Association, "Handbook and Book List," undated (circa 1992), no page numbers.

139 Flyer promoting an event with Hashimoto held March 7, 1992 in Seattle, Washington.

140 John Pleasant, "Understanding the History, Meaning, and Purpose of the Constitution" (National Commodity and Barter Association, May 1988), p. 3–38.

141 Ibid, p. 2–55.

142 *Willis vs. United States*, U.S. District Court in Portland, Oregon.

143 *Willis vs. United States*, Defendant's Exhibit 1,000, a letter dated May 6, 1986.

144 *Portland Alliance*, September 1990.

145 National Commodity and Barter Association flyer advertising "The New Order Exposed and The N.C.B.A. Zero-Tax Seminar," a lecture by NCBA activist Danny Hashimoto held in Seattle, Washington on March 7, 1992.

146 Phillip Marsh, *The Complete Patriot* (6333 Pacific Ave, Suite 334, Stockton, California 95207: The Pilot Connection, 1986).

147 Ibid, p.21.

148 Ibid, p.97.

149 Ibid, p.73. Note that Marsh's distinction between "federal" and "national" is technically inaccurate. A "federal" system is by definition one in which sub-units such as states agree to surrender limited authority, e.g. as defined under the Constitution, to a central or united governing body. A "national" government implies a unitary nation state that is not divided into subsidiary parts with any independent authority. The two terms are used interchangeably in practice, but careful scholars of the post-Colonial United States have noted ironically that those calling themselves "Federalists"—Madison, Jay and company—were in fact "Nationalists," whereas the "anti-Federalists," led by Jefferson, were technically federalists seeking a Constitutionally limited central government.

150 Flyer distributed by the Seattle-based, North Star Consultants, August 2, 1991.

151 Phillip Marsh, *The Complete Patriot* (Stockton, California: Pilot Connection, 1986), p.180, (hereafter *Complete Patriot*).

152 Ibid, p.183.

153 Flyer distributed by the Seattle-based, North Star Consultants, August 2, 1991. Note that the second half of the quotation cited at end note number 130, beginning with the words "how to legally..." has been altered by the editors. In the original flyer the first letter of each word was capitalized.

154 Flyer titled "Are You in Fear of the IRS," distributed by the Seattle-based Tax Alternatives and the Bothell, Washington-based Royal Essence of Graydon G. Collins at the Seattle Preparedness Expo '92.

155 *Complete Patriot*, p.97.

156 Ibid, p.96.

157 Ibid, p.97.

158 Ibid.

159 *The Citizens Claw*, May 1984, reprinted in *Complete Patriot*, p. 91, emphasis in original.

160 From an advertisement in Montana Patriot Peggy Christensen's newsletter *The Correspondent*, March/April 1993.

161 *Behold!* September 1986. Published by Republic v. Democracy Redress, Fourth Judicial District, 729 Molalla Avenue, Suite #2, Oregon City, Oregon. Note that RDR and other Patriot organizations purposefully omit zip codes, considering them to be part of the nefarious government plot to control citizens.

162 *Clackamas County Review*, May 28 – June 3, 1992.

163 *Behold!* September 1986, p.9.

164 *Clackamas County Review*, May 28, 1992- June 3, 1992.

165 *Behold!* March 1987, p.9-10.

166 Ibid, p.10.

167 Contacts listed in *Behold!* March 1990, p.33.

168 *Missoulan*, July 20, 1993

169 State Citizens Service Center promotional flyer, undated (circa 1993).

170 *The Patriot*, November 1988. Published by the State Citizens Service Center, Research Headquarters, 2nd Judicial District, 585 Box Canyon Road, Canoga Park, California Republic.

171 *The Patriot*, November 1988.

172 *The Patriot*, December 1989.

173 Contemporary eyewitness report of the event held at the Valley Conference Center in Beaverton, Oregon on February 11, 1994.

174 For example, Gritz called Service Center representative Doug Olsen to the stage at the Las Vegas Preparedness Expo '93 and recommended his organization.

175 "Network News Flash," Montana Human Rights Network, October 1993; Montana *Standard*, August 14, 1993.

176 Survival Center promotional mailing, undated but received in 1992.

177 The Survival Center, *Survival Center Book List* (19223 Cook Road, Box 234, McKenna, Washington 98558: The

Notes for Pages 2.27 - 2.37

Pilot Connection

Medford Citizens Bar Association (MCBA)

National Commodity and Barter Association (NCBA)

Republic v. Democracy Redress

Pilot Connection

Notes for Pages 2.37 - 2.40

Survival Center

Survival Center, undated [circa 1992]).

178 Survival Center promotional flyer, undated (circa 1992), emphasis in original.

179 *The Survival Center Newsletter*, vol. 1, no. 4 (Fall 1992), p.1.

180 Ibid.

181 Other works offered by the Survival center include: *Mini-14-Exotic Weapons System, Reloader's Bible: Making Ammo at Home, Remington 1100 Exotic Weapons System, Modern Weapons Caching, Survival Shooting Skills for Women, Survival/Fighting Knives, The Fighting Rifle*, books on the AR-15, AR-7, M13, M1, M16 and M16A1 rifles, *Training Text: Principles in Quick Kill, How to Destroy Bridges, Beginner's Guide to Guns & Shooting, Browning Hi-Power Exotic Weapons System, One Hundred Fifty Questions for a Guerrilla*, and a book on 7.62mm machine guns.

Chapter 3

Identity

Christian Identity—Kingdom of Hate

Introduction	3.3
Northwest History	3.6
Profiles in the Theology of Hate:	3.8
American Christian Ministries	3.8
America's Promise Ministries	3.11
Christian Israel Covenant Church	3.16
Christ's Gospel Fellowship	3.17
The Jubilee	3.18
Judah's Praise Ministries	3.21
Kingdom Covenant College	3.22
Marble Community Fellowship	3.25
Olympia Christian Fellowship	3.26
Scriptures For America	3.27
Endnotes	3.33

HEIRS OF THE COVENANT

ADAM
NOAH
HAM — JAPETH
SHEM
ABRAHAM

ABRAHAMIC COVENANT

"I will make you a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing. In thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed. . . " Genesis 12:2-3. "That in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and as the sands which is upon the sea shore: and thy seed shall posses the gates of his enemies." Genesis 23:17.

ISAAC

Promises confirmed. Gen 26:24.

ESAU / EDOM
Obadiah 1-21

JACOB/ISRAEL

"Thy name is Jacob: thy name shalt not be called any more Jacob, but Israel shall be thy name: and He called his name Israel and God said unto him I am God Almighty: be fruitful and multiply; a nation and a company of nations shall be of thee, and kings shall come out of thy loins." Genesis 35:10-11.

ISRAEL'S TWELVE SONS

BENJAMIN | JUDAH | SIMEON | ISSACHAR | GAD | JOSEPH | ASHER | REUBEN
LEVI | DAN | ZEBULON | NAPHTALI
EPHRAIM | MANASSEH

"The Sceptre shall not depart from Judah . . . until Shiloh come." Genesis 49:10.

"Manasseh shall become a great people, and Ephraim shall be greater than he and his seed shall become a multitude of nations." Genesis 48:12-20.

At Mt. Sinai Israel nationally chose to obey God's Commandments, Statutes and Judgments and was formalised with what we recognise as a marriage ceremony.

"Israel answered together and said all that the Lord hath spoken WE WILL DO." Exodus 19:5-8.

In this marriage contract, God promises unsurpassed blessings for national faithfulness, but divorce for "seven times" for unfaithfulness. Deut. 29,29,30

As the years passed Israel became united under the reign of King David.
Due to David's faithfulness to the Divine Law, God promises him an enduring dynasty:

DAVIDIC COVENANT

"And thine house and thy kingdom shall be established forever before thee: thy throne shall be established forever." 2 Samuel 7:16.
"Thus saith the Lord; if you can break my covenant of the day, and my covenant of the night; and that there should not be day or night in their season: Then may also my covenant be broken with David my servant, that he should not have a son to reign upon his throne." Jeremiah 33:20.

Under the reign of King Rehoboam, the united kingdom was divided into two separate entities. 2 Kings 11:29-39.

HOUSE OF JUDAH

National Emblem is Lion. Genesis 49:9, Rev.5:5. Consisting of Judah, Benjamin and half of Levi. They maintained the capital Jerusalem.

HOUSE OF ISRAEL

National Emblem is Unicorn, or Wild Ox. Deuteronomy 33:16,17. Constituted the remaining Ten Tribes and established Samaria as their capital.

As the years passed, the constant rivalry between the two kingdoms brought war, corruption, sin and idolatry. God called Israel's sin adultery and subsequently divorces her. Jeremiah 3:8, Hosea 1:9, Isaiah 50:1.
In Leviticus 26 God outlines seven times punishment for the national breaking of the laws of God. A prophetic time equals 360 years. Revelations 12:6&12. Thus Seven Times equal 2520 years. This was to be the period of Israel's punishment.
The Assyrians under Tilgath-Pilneser took the $2^{1}/_{2}$ tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh who lived east of the Jordan around 745 B.C. 1 Chronicles 5:26. By 721 B.C. the balance of Israel was taken captive into Assyria, by their king, Shalmaneser. 2 Kings 18:11. Concurrently 200, 150 Judahites were also taken captive into Assyria by Sennacherib, leaving only the capital, Jerusalem. 2 Kings 18:13.

Christian Identity/British Israel chart depicting the supposed descent of the Tribes of Israel.

HOUSE OF JUDAH

About 150 years B.C. forced to adopt Jewish laws under John Hyrcanus

Jeremiah flees to Egypt, then to Ireland with the Princess daughter of King Zedekiah and the Coronation Stone (The Throne).

In 604 B.C. King Nebuchadnezzer invades Jerusalem and takes captive remaining Judahites. The majority of these people eventually follow similiar route of Israelite brethren up though Caucasus Mountains

Captivity in Babylon to last for 70 years as foretold by Jeremiah. Jeremiah 29:10. At the end of this time Zerubbabel returns to Jerusalem with 42, 360 people. These consititute Good and Bad Figs of Jeremiah 24.

BAD FIGS | GOOD FIGS

Intermarried with Edomites amongst others.

Crucified Christ.

Jerusalem Destroyed 70 A.D. by Roman General Titus. 1 Million Jews Killed, Remnant Dispersed.

During A.D. 740 Khazar Kingdom of Japhetic and Edomite descent adopt Judaism as national religion.

Modern Jewry
Revelations 2:9, 3:9.

Birth of Israel's Redeemer, Jesus the Christ

Good figs Accepted Gospel of Jesus

Proclaimed Gospel to the Lost Sheep of the House of Israel in the isles. Matthew 10:6-7, 15:2-4

Through the birth, death and resurrection of Jesus, God was able to annihilate the bill of divorcement, and bring Israel back to Himself. Revelation 21.

HOUSE OF ISRAEL

Israel and part Judah migrate up through Caucasus Mountains to eventually become known as Jutes, Danes, Saxons, Angles, Vikings, Celts and Normans taking up residence in the Isles as promised by God. 2 Samuel 7:10 Isaiah 66:19

The reformation of Israel in the Isles was coming to completion, still in national blindness to their identity and purposes in God. Truly the Lost Sheep of the House of Israel. Isaiah 42 & 43

DAVIDIC THRONE | EPHARAIM | MANASSEH

British Royal Family

Comes out of 7X punishment in 1776 with Declaration of Independence in U.S.A.

Comes out of 7X Punishment in 1801 with Union of Jacob

Thus saith the Lord God: Behold I will take the stick of Joseph, which is in the hand of Ephraim and the tribes of Israel his fellows, and will put them with him, even with the stick of Judah, and make them one stick, and they shall be one in mine hand." Ezekiel 37:19.

Jerusalem comes out of 7X Punishment in 1917, and comes under British Rule when General Alanby captures Jerusalem.

As a result of our national blindness to our identity, and consequently our responsibilities to God, we are experiencing many social, political and economic problems. These are directly due to our disobedience to the Divine Laws, Commandments and Statutes that have been ordained for our national well being. Until we repent and return to the Divine Precepts, we will not experience the blessings of peace, prosperity and health that we all long for. What further chastisement must we endure before we will acknowledge the sovereign ways of God. The good news is that as surely as Jesus came the first time, He is coming again, and will save us in our hour of need.

MILLENNIAL REIGN OF THE LORD JESUS CHRIST OVER ISRAEL
GREAT BRITAIN, U.S.A. CANADA, SOUTH AFRICA, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND AND ANGLO-SAXON-CELTIC EUROPEAN NATIONS

NEW COVENANT IN CHRIST OF ETERNAL REDEMPTION. Jeremiah 31:31-36 / Hebrews 8:8-13.

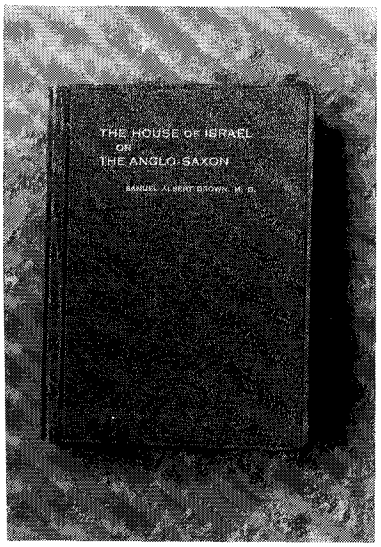
"Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah: not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt; which my covenant they broke, although I was an Husband unto them, saith the Lord: . . . I will put my Law in their inward parts and write it in their hearts; and I shall be their God and they shall be my people." (Hebrews 8:8-10).
And Jesus is to Rule over these people as promised to Mary His mother: "Behold thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shall call His name JESUS. He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest: and the Lord shall give unto Him the throne of His Father David, and He shall reign over the House of Jacob for ever; and of His Kingdom there shall be no end." (Luke 1:31-33).
"For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon His shoulders and His name shall be called Wonderful, Counselor, The Mighty God, The Ever Lasting Father, The Prince of Peace, of the increase of His government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon His Kingdom, to order it, to establish it with judgment and with justice from henceforth even forever." (Isaiah 9:6-7).
Citizenship for this Kingdom is specific: "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God. (John 3:5). "If thou shall confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved, for with the heart man believeth unto righteousness; and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation." (Romans 10:8-10).
"Whosoever committeth sin transgresseth also the law: for sin is the transgression of the law." (I John 3:4). "But if the wicked will turn from his sins that he hath committed, and keep all my statutes, and do that which is lawful and right, he shall surely live, he shall not die." (Ezekiel 18:21). The Commandments outlined in Exodus 20:1-17 are the guidelines for our daily living, for Jesus said: "Think not that I come to destroy the Law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the Law, till all be fulfilled. Whosoever therefore shall break one of the least commandments, and teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven: but whosoever shall do and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven." (Matthew 5:17-19).

Compiled by: Jason P. Kemp B.Soc.Sci

Christian Identity: Kingdom of Hate

Church of Jesus Christ Christian—Aryan Nations

July, 1992. A cool summer evening near Hayden Lake, Idaho. The quiet serenity of this mountain resort grudgingly yields to a gathering of some 200 men and women who fill a five-acre clearing in the woods. They assemble in a large, menacing circle around a century-old symbol of racist violence and terror: a burning cross. As a flaming torch ignites the diesel-soaked wooden planks and the night sky erupts with dancing light the Idaho air is choked with hate.



The House of Israel or the Anglo-Saxon Published in 1925, in Portland, Oregon to "Show the House Of Israel from the Racial Standpoint of the Bible." —Samuel Albert Brown, M.D.

In decades past most of the attendees at such gatherings would don the traditional hoods and gowns of the Ku Klux Klan. Tonight, however, the dress of choice is casual: blue jeans and flannel shirts, skirts and blouses. The ranks of modern hate groups have been swelled with a new breed of passionately religious men and women from modest backgrounds. Israel's Children. Yahweh's blessed.

WHITES ONLY

The followers of Identity Christianity.

As the flames die and midnight approaches, an aging patriarch with the deeply furrowed face of an old-growth Douglas fir manages a contented smile. He is pleased with the weekend's events that culminated in the ceremonial cross burning. The many young people who had traveled from as far away as Las Vegas, Nevada to attend give him hope that a new generation of Aryan warriors will carry on his vision of a Northwest homeland.

Richard Girnt Butler

The participants begin to filter back through the woods to cars and trailers with license plates that designate their homes: Montana, Canada, Washington, California and Oregon. A small group of skinheads make their way to an old weather-worn hall they dub the "barracks" to swig their last beer of the weekend. Another group of men take up guard posts for the remainder of the evening, two of them stationed next to a sign painted with the message "WHITES ONLY."

Aryan World Congress

The scene is the closing ceremony of the 1992 Aryan World Congress sponsored by the Hayden Lake, Idaho-based Church of Jesus Christ Christian–Aryan Nations. The aging patriarch is Richard Girnt Butler, who has convened these annual gatherings for more than a decade. In the organization's fifteen-year history in the Pacific Northwest, it has become the most notorious representative of Identity Christianity—the religion of the white supremacist movement.

Racists and anti-Semites fill the ranks of Identity churches. But many followers do not display their bigotry in a manner as overt as gathering about a burning cross. A common feature of many Identity organizations is that they appear just that: common. Their Christian

The Northwest Imperative:

Drawing a Composite Portrait of Christian Identity Followers

Phineas Priests

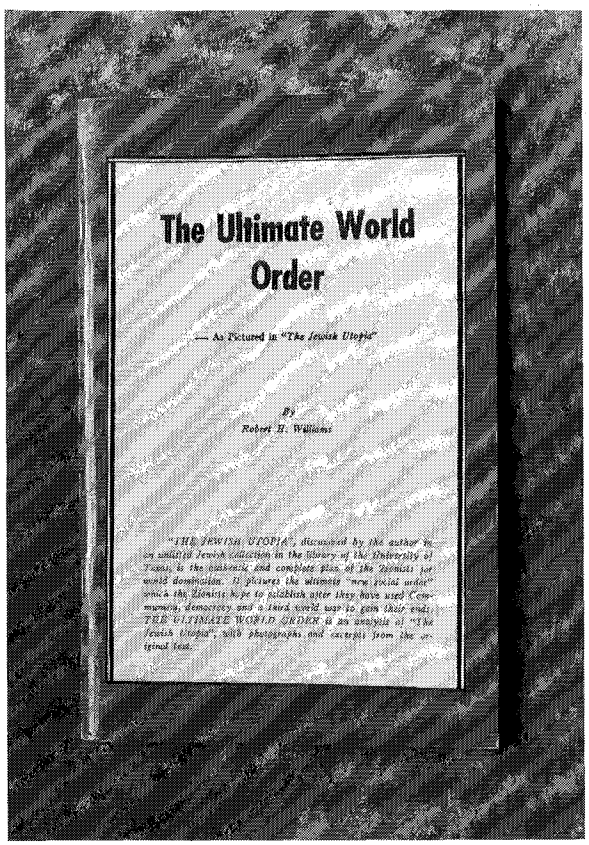
Christianity & Judaism
Identity believers denounce Religious Right leaders like Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson for speaking of a "Judeo-Christian" heritage.

Israelites

Heirs to a White, Christian "Kingdom of God"

devotion can be virtually indistinguishable from the worship practiced by fundamentalist Christians.

In order to draw an accurate portrait of Christian Identity followers we could just as well peer into a small suburban church on the outskirts of Spokane, Washington. There a pleasant, elderly preacher addresses a hundred or so church-goers. The men sport polyester and cotton slacks, button-down shirts and ties, the women are in flower print dresses. The



flock sing hymns, devour a potluck lunch and hear an announcement for an upcoming carwash to benefit the church. At first glance we have happened upon nothing more than Sunday morning worship.

At some point in the pastor's sermon the flock is referred to as the "elect." Members are urged to rejoice in the rediscovery of their historically suppressed "Identity" as the "Children of Israel." Fundamentalists like Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson are denounced for speaking of a "Judeo-Christian" heritage. For the pastor at our hypothetical suburban Identity Church, to speak of a relationship between Christianity and Judaism is blasphemy.

Then again, the majority of Identity believers can be found attending small gatherings of five to ten people in the home of one of the members. Participants at such gatherings, referred to as "fellowships," read the Bible together, share their troubles and hopes, and sing of a new day when the true "Israelites" will finally cross the River Jordan, obey their Lord and drive out His enemies.

A composite portrait of Christian Identity must also include the scene of a wooded area—perhaps in Montana or Northern California—where a half-dozen young men dressed in army fatigues train with automatic weapons. They will take a blood oath and commit themselves to becoming "Phineas Priests,"Christian Identity assassins dedicated to racist and anti-Semitic murder as God's highest calling.

As the umbrella religion for the white supremacist movement, Identity Christianity provides meaning for its followers. That meaning involves a Biblical justification for racism and bigotry. Even murder.

The Theology of Hate

Christian Identity believers use the Bible to rationalize their racist and anti-Semitic bigotry. The core beliefs of Christian Identity can be summarized as follows. White Northern Europeans are the Israelites of the Bible and, through Christ, the rightful heirs to a white, Christian "Kingdom of God" to be established on earth. Jews are impostors, false "chosen people," and are often believed to be "children of Satan" involved in a global conspiracy to destroy the white race. People of color are inferior and destined to a subordinate position in the "kingdom," if they are allowed in at all.

To understand the implications of these racial beliefs it is useful to compare Identity beliefs with those of evangelical Christianity concerning the important area of the "End Times."

Documenting a Decade of Hate

The End Times, sometimes referred to as the "Latter Days," are associated with the Second Coming of Christ and the time immediately preceeding the Second Coming. Within Christianity beliefs about the End Times, technically described as an *eschatology*, are divided into three general categories: pre-millennial, post-millennial and a-millennial. The millennium is a period of time, generally thought of as one thousand years in length, during which peace and harmony reign over the entire Earth. The prefixes "pre-," "post-" and "a-" refer to the timing of the Second Coming. Three key concepts associated with the millennium are: the *Tribulations*, *Dispensationalism*, and the *Rapture*.

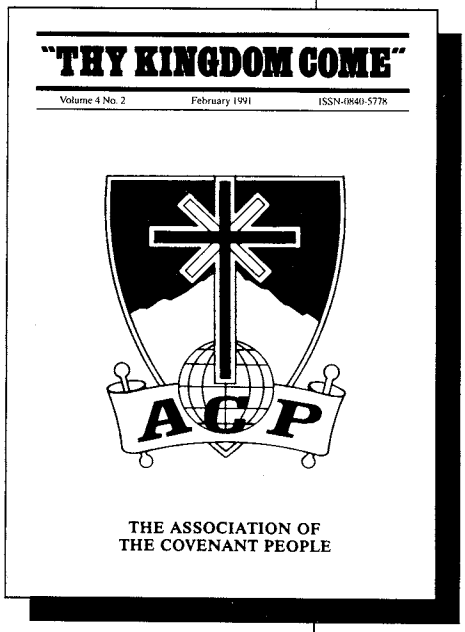
The Tribulations, or time of troubles, are a period of suffering, upheaval, sorrow, war and natural disaster.

Dispensationalism refers to the belief in a divine dispensation or ordering of events by God in a predetermined manner unaffected by and independent of human agency.

The Rapture is an event in which all living believers are transformed and ascend to dwell with Christ until his Second Coming. Depending on the particular eschatological variation, the Rapture can occur before the Tribulations (pre-Tribulation or pre-trib), during the Tribulations (mid-Tribulation or mid-trib), or after the Tribulations (post-Tribulation or post-trib).

In *post-millennial eschatologies*, Christ does not return to Earth until the end of the millennium, signalling the end of history and the beginning of his kingdom. For post-millennialists human agency—the actions of the church, governments and individual believers—are vital in bringing about the millennium which is thought of as an expression of God's Kingdom.[1] In this view Tribulations are thought of not as a specific time, but as the trials of existence common to all life in the flesh. Since human agency is key to bringing about the millennium, the establishment of God's Kingdom is not seen as a specific dispensation. Similarly, since Christian believers are the ones responsible for bringing about the millennium, it would not work if they were whisked away in a Rapture, leaving no one to establish the Kingdom on Earth.

In *a-millennial eschatology*, there is no millennium, no reign of peace and harmony, rather human existance, more-or-less as is, continues right up to the time of the Second Coming when Christ returns to make his final judgments. Though there are no specifically millennial Tribulations, a-millennialists often see tribulation-like troubles as the continuing judgments of God on the unrighteous. In the a-millennial view the Second Coming itself is a dispensation, an event ordered by God unaffected by human agency, but believers can effect the interim judgments through their actions. Of course with neither millennium nor Tribulations, there is no reason for a Rapture.



Pre-millennial eschatology holds that the Tribulations are a very specific period, often seven years in duration, during which the Earth will be wracked with disaster and political upheaval. Most Protestant fundamentalist and evangelical Christians in the United States are pre-millennialist, and most believe in a pre-Tribulation Rapture. This order of events is dispensational and not effected by human agency. For these believers, Christ returns and sets things to right, establishing the millennium of his Kingdom on Earth which is followed by the Eternal Kingdom.

Many Identity believers share the pre-millennial, dispensationist view which developed in 19th Century American evangelical circles, but most reject the idea of the Rapture, often referring to it as a "Jewish Hoax." In Identity circles prophesies of an impending apocalypse are often tied to financial instabilities, changes in weather patterns and natural disasters as well as news that relates to the geo-political position of the state of Israel.

In most Identity theology, the period of tribulations builds to a racial Armageddon, or

A Comparison of Identity & Evangelical Beliefs Concerning the "End Times."

Millennialism "pre-," "post-," & "a-"

The Second Coming

The Rapture
Within Christian Identity the Rapture is Considered a "Jewish Hoax"

The Northwest Imperative:

Ray Barker
Christian Israel Covenant Church

The Satanic Religion of Judaism

British Israelism
Predecessor to Christian Identity; holds that the "Lost Tribes of Israel" are actually the people of Northern Europe

C.A.L. Totten

Karl Schott

The Religious Right

genocidal war, and the "Second Coming of Christ" is invariably equated with an outpouring of violence against Jews, people of color and other racial enemies. Identity religious leaders often include explicit descriptions of the total destruction of people of color, Jews, liberals and other people deemed "God's enemies."

Rather than holding that a Rapture of believers will remove them from the tribulations, most attack this belief as a conspiracy aimed at keeping white people docile and unaware of their rightful place as heirs to a white Kingdom of God.

In the words of Spokane, Washington Identity figure Karl Schott:

> There are few ministers who understand the gospel of the Kingdom, and one reason for this is that, during their time in Bible College, they were taught that the Jews are Israel and also the erroneous rapture theory, which nullify much of the Kingdom promises made to the Israelites (the peoples of Anglo-Saxondom today).... The rapture theory, as well as the theory that Jews are Israel, cancel out all the Kingdom Parables which tell us that the wicked shall be tied in bundles and cast out of the Kingdom, and that the righteous shall then shine forth.[2]

While Identity believers share common ground on many social issues with the Religious Right (e.g. opposition to abortion, gay and lesbian rights, "secular humanism" and liberalism and support for "traditional family values"), they reserve special condemnation for non-Identity Christian conservatives, whom they consider pawns of the Jewish conspiracy. Identity leaders routinely launch malicious attacks on mainstream Protestant, Catholic and fundamentalist believers, citing efforts to build ecumenical relations between Jews and Christians, support for racial equality and a lack of criticism of the state of Israel as evidence that Jews secretly control mainstream Christian churches. The vicious anti-Semitism that permeates the Identity movement is often at the core of these attacks on mainstream Jews and Christians, as one Northwest Identity leader makes clear:

> "Judeo-Christianity is a lie from the pit of Babylonian Hell.... Judeo-Christianity is an oxymoron. You can't link two absolute opposites together with a hyphen and create a new entity.... Judaism is the pinnacle of filth, occultism and everything that's evil. You are either a Christian following Christ or a Jew following the Satanic religion of Judaism."
>
> ***—Ray Barker***
> ***Christian Israel Covenant Church***

Judeo-Christianity is a lie from the pit of Babylonian Hell.... Judeo-Christianity is an oxymoron. You can't link two absolute opposites together with a hyphen and create a new entity.... Judaism is the pinnacle of filth, occultism and everything that's evil. You are either a Christian following Christ or a Jew following the Satanic religion of Judaism.[3]

Northwest History

The roots of Identity Christianity in the Pacific Northwest are found in British Israelism, a little-known religious movement that grew significantly towards the end of the 19th Century. British Israelism promoted the idea that the "Lost Tribes of Israel" mentioned in the Bible were actually the people of Northern Europe—particularly white Anglo-Saxons. For British Israelites the "Tribes" migrated throughout the centuries, eventually forming nation-states of Europe.

Though originating in Europe, British Israelism has had North American adherents. A notable early leader was C.A.L. Totten, who

Documenting a Decade of Hate

published a periodical titled *Our Race* and influenced movement leaders such as J.H. Allen and Frank Sanford, founder of the Shiloh Bible school.[4]

One early British Israelite in the Pacific Northwest was Reuben H. Sawyer, a Portland, Oregon clergyman who in the early 1920s established the Anglo-Israel Research Society, supported a bookstore and helped operate a speakers bureau to promote British Israelism. Sawyer played a role in the formation of the British Israel World Federation, an international umbrella group formed in 1919 with its base in London, England. From 1921 to 1924 Sawyer was active in the Ku Klux Klan in Oregon, working closely with Oregon leader Fred Gifford to broaden public appeal for the group. He also headed up the Klan women's auxiliary, the Ladies of the Invisible Empire (known as "LOTIES"). Sawyer lectured extensively throughout the Pacific Northwest, leaving his pastorate in 1921 to devote his full attention to promoting British-Israelism.[5]

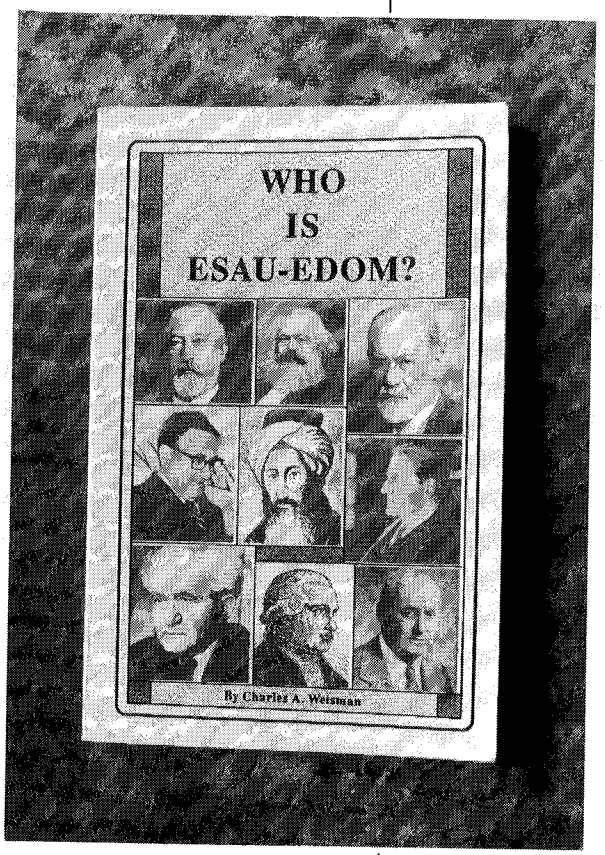
In the late 1920s and 1930s British Israelism in America was dominated by the Anglo-Saxon Federation based in Detroit, Michigan. The group was founded by William Cameron, author of the anti-Semitic diatribe *The International Jew: The World's Foremost Problem,* millions of copies of which were published and distributed by auto manufacturing magnate Henry Ford.[6] Along with Howard Rand, Cameron built the organization and its publication *Destiny* into the premiere vehicle of British Israelism in the United States, influencing such noted racists and anti-Semites as Silver Shirt leader William Pelley, Gerald L.K. Smith and Gerald Winrod.[7]

Wesley Swift and Bertrand Comparet became the most influential early proponents of what can rightly be termed Christian Identity in the United States. In the late 1940s Swift formed the Church of Jesus Christ Christian which provided a vehicle for the expansion of Christian Identity nationwide from California to Florida. He also helped build other racist organizations, including the California Rangers and the Christian Defense League and provided training for future leaders in the racist movement.[8]

Among Swift's early supporters were several who went on to play leading roles in the racist movement. William Potter Gale, a former U.S. Army Lieutenant Colonel under Douglas McArthur became the co-founder of the violent Posse Comitatus.[9] James K. Warner, the one-time editor of the National Socialist White People's Party tabloid *The National Socialist Bulletin* became National Information Director and Louisiana Grand Dragon in David Duke's Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.[10]

Another early leader was a man by the name of Richard Girnt Butler who would take the reigns of Swift's organization and move it to Hayden Lake, Idaho in 1979 and become the most notorious of the Christian Identity leaders.[11]

Another factor in Northwest Identity history is a series of theological conferences sponsored by the Vancouver, British Columbia-based British Israel Association between 1937 and 1947. Held in Seattle in 1937, Vancouver in 1939-40, Portland in 1941-43 and Los Angeles in 1945-47, these conferences helped forge an alliance between the Vancouver Association and the western segment of the Anglo-Saxon Federation. A legacy of this alliance was the loose network of British Israel believers who remained scattered along the western Coast of Canada and the United States and whom are the ancestors of today's region wide development of Identity Christian organizations.[12]



Anglo-Israel Research Society

Ku Klux Klan In Oregon & "LOTIES"

Anglo-Saxon Federation

British Israel Association

Profiles in Identity

Sheldon Emry
The Arizona-based Identity Leader had a following among Christian Patriots, Posse Comitatus organizers and neo-Nazis.

Billions for the Bankers, Debts for the People
Emry claimed to have located an anti-Christian conspiracy within the Federal Reserve.

Ben Williams
Established the American Christian Ministries in Medford, Oregon.

Serpent Slayer

American Christian Ministries (ACM)
Ridicules "pre-millennialist" Identity followers

Taken together the profiles which follow constitute a detailed treatment of Christian Identity groups and leaders active in the Pacific Northwest. There is considerable redundancy between profiles since each is designed to stand alone as a self-contained exposé. Backed-up by extensive documentation, they are intended as intellectual amunition for activists faced with the daunting task of opposing bigoted organizing by groups whose goals and ideology cannot be summarized in an easy sound bite.

American Christian Ministries

Following the death of founder Sheldon Emry in 1985, America's Promise Ministries was left without a clear leader. Emry, a patriarchal figure in the Identity movement, had a following which extended to Christian Patriots, Posse Comitatus organizers and white supremacists. His ministry, forged through his radio broadcasts and his books, e.g. *Billions for the Bankers, Debts for the People*, had no clear successor.[13]

Ben Williams, a close associate and follower of Emry's, briefly appeared to be in a position to take the helm. When his leadership failed to take hold, he set out to create his own place in the movement, settling in the southern Oregon town of Medford. With a group of his followers, Williams established the American Christian Ministries (ACM).[14]

Williams breaks with the bulk of those in the Identity movement on at least one important theological point—a point which may have played a role in his ultimate departure from America's Promise.

Williams and other writers for his monthly publication *The American Christian* ridicule pre-millennialists who hold that a Second Coming of Christ will establish an earthly Kingdom devoid of the problems of modern society. In an article in the September 1991 *American Christian*, Williams and ACM artist Paul Bunch write:

> The church says the kingdom of God is a "Utopia," where there is no evil and only good. Since we have never had a magical kingdom where there is no evil and only good, they reason that the kingdom cannot be here.
>
> The truth is that Jesus never was a missing person. He never floated up to outer space. He simply assumed a different form when He was raised immortal from the tomb. He is now reigning IN HIS KINGDOM ON THE EARTH—which mortal men can not see or hear. Therefore, there is no need for Jesus to "return," since He never left.[15]

Williams and his associates predictably attribute a belief in "futurism" to a Jewish conspiracy. Francis Christen, a frequent contributor to *The American Christian* and head of "Serpent Slayer," an anti-Semitic book outlet also based in Medford, writes:

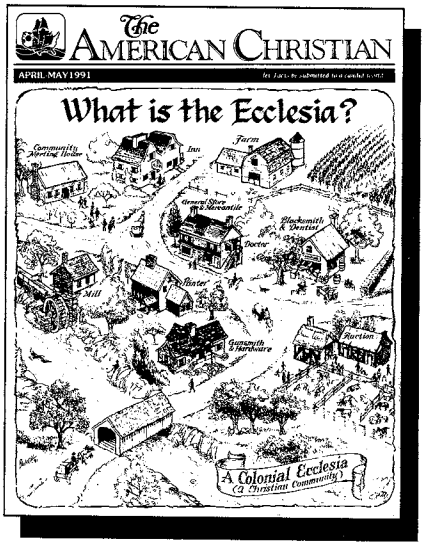
> The misconceptions about a "future" age or a "Millennium" can be directly traced to two things:
>
> First: there are mistranslations in our English versions of the Bible ....

Documenting a Decade of Hate

Secondly: Judeo-Christianity (and their related "cults") are first and foremost *Jewish* in their doctrine. All share the common false teaching that the Jews are "God's chosen people" and they will eventually rule supreme over the whole world.[16]

The ACM attack on pre-millennialists duped by the "Jewish conspiracy" extends beyond Christian evangelicals to their fellow Identity believers. Paul Bunch, for example, has written:

> The Identity Church denomination has its share of doomsdayers, too. In 1987, Andrew Burns was a popular speaker at Identity camps and conferences. He claimed he had carefully computed all the Jubilee cycles and that April 1988 was the end of a long line of Jubilee cycles which marked the Second Coming of Christ....
>
> As usual, many were infatuated by predictions of "the end." Pete Peters, an Identity preacher in Laporte, Colorado, took up Burns' prophecy and gave it wide distribution.... Peters was heard to say, "This year's summer camp might be the last one, ever, so you'd better attend...."
>
> When 1988 came and went, Andrew Burn's short period of fame ended abruptly, and Peters; et al. had to do some backpedaling.... [17]



In addition to Peters and Burns, Bunch lashes out at Clyde Edminster, another Identity preacher from Rainier, Washington who claims only five or six more years are left of this "old earth ...."[18]

Williams and others affiliated with ACM eschew pre-millennialist eschatologies—even those of Identity leaders who see belief in the Rapture as a Jewish conspiracy. For Williams and ACM, the presence of Christ is witnessed in the course of historical events perceived as judgments against "sinful" governments and peoples.

Williams and Bunch elaborate:

> Jesus makes His presence known to Christians in many ways, and it usually comes in the form of major, life-changing, historical events....
>
> These events... represent a substantial break in the normal routine of the central beast system. These were events that were not planned and orchestrated by the beast... These events happened because our King (Jesus) orchestrated them for his own purposes.[19]

An understanding of William's eschatology can aid us in assessing the potential threat that the American Christian Ministries might pose to a particular community. As gleaned from the pages of the *American Christian*, the kind of community proposed by Williams would appear to be this: a self-governing community of fanatical racists and anti-Semites who attempt to sever their ties with local, state and federal government bodies, systematically violate those laws which they hold to be in opposition to their white supremacist "religion," and prepare for potentially violent conflict that could occur as a result of such violations of the law.

In a series of articles titled "What is the Ecclesia?" Williams lays out the framework for the establishment of just such a community. In framing his argument, Williams makes a sharp distinction between the "church" and the "ecclesia." At the core of his argument is the central image found throughout Identity—that of a Jewish led effort to destroy the institutions and life of white Christians.

Williams sees the modern "church" as an outgrowth of an age-old Jewish conspiracy to destroy the form of government set in motion by Christ when he called on followers to

> ...withdraw themselves from the Roman/Jewish political system (ie, the beast system)... to form their own independent political systems based upon God's law and the patriarchal, family-type system which is God's true plan for civil government among men.[20]

Paul Bunch
A Popular cartoonist for the American Christian Ministries.

The Ecclesia
"Independent political system based upon God's law and the patriarchal, family-type system which is God's true plan for civil government among men."

Modern Churches & The Beast System
The "Ecclesia" will remove Christian Identity followers from this.

Clyde Edminster

Medford Citizens Bar Association (MCBA)

Christian Covenant Communities
James "Bo" Gritz's effort at Identity community building is strikingly similar to the "Ecclesia" promoted by ACM.

Francis Christen
Writes for both the MCBA publication *American's Bulletin* as well as ACM's *American Christian.*

Christian Civil Body Politic

Richard Kelly Hoskins
Vigilantes of Christendom

Williams sees the United States government as the continuation of a Jewish dominated "beast system." He advocates the formation of self-governing communities which operate outside the laws of the current system with members standing ready to defend them.

"We, today," he writes,

> ...are still being called out of the One-World beast system to form our own ecclesias (politically-independent, patriarchal-type communities under the reign of Christ)....
>
> How, you may ask, will we prevent central government from encroaching again upon our communities? We simply apply the law of Yahweh which commands us to prohibit the establishment of other gods (i.e., law systems) in our land. "Other gods" is a Bible term meaning "other governments." To prevent central government in our land, all we need to do is obey God's law which forcibly prevents any form of monopolization, centralization, state corporation, state licensing, standing armies (i.e., policemen) and any other tool of central government....
>
> The ultimate answer for establishing godly government is not to agree to support a system, but rather to stand against any and all systems which attempt to centralize and amass power.[21]

There is a clear similarity between the concept of the "ecclessia" as advocated by ACM and the so-called Christian Covenant Communities promoted by Christian Patriot leader James "Bo" Gritz. Williams advocates a patriarchal structure governed by an elder, or overseer picked from the elders and "charged to protect the people against the 'devil' of central government" and a minister, while Gritz envisions a governing council of twelve selected from community members.

There are differences as well. Gritz considers a battle with the government as imminent and the institution of a Christian Republic a future certainty. Williams prophesies utter destruction of constitutional government in the United States and the assumption of localized power by the "ecclesia":

> The old brainwash of "the Constitution is good, but the politicians are bad," MUST BE ABANDONED! The Constitution is what empowers the politicians to do what they do. The Constitution created a bad government. It's time the true patriots admit it, and stop their tacit support of the beast that they otherwise profess to hate....
>
> Let the blood suckers get a real job, or die of starvation! And, if they refuse, let them know that we will not willingly and blindly support them ever again![22]

While the a-millennial view of Williams and his followers would on the surface appear to mitigate against acts of racist and anti-Semitic organizing and violence, several factors indicate the need for concern. First, there is at least circumstantial evidence that one of William's followers has developed a working relationship with the Medford Citizens Bar Association (MCBA), a Christian Patriot group which promoted Gritz's 1992 presidential bid.

Francis Christen, a frequent writer for *The American Christian,* is also a regular contributor to *The American's Bulletin,* the monthly publication of the MCBA. Christen also frequently places ads for the anti-Semitic Serpent Slayer Books in *The Bulletin.*

Second, William's concept of the "ecclesia" is identical to the idea of the "Christian civil body politic" found across the Identity movement as a whole. In several instances Williams indeed substitutes this term for ecclesia. This idea has been explicitly linked to the "enforcement" of the Identity version of "God's Law" through physical violence. The "civil body politic" and the "ecclesia" constitute, for committed racists, a governing body with the authority to carry out "judgments" against perceived law breakers.

Finally, the a-millennial eschatology of Williams, which sees history as a series of ongoing judgments meted out by God and responded to by believers is strikingly similar to the eschatological view put forth by Richard Kelly Hoskins in his book *Vigilantes of Christendom.* For Hoskins, the "Phineas Priest"—the embodiment of Christian Identity belief and obedience to God— is not one who prepares for the impending race war, but one who commits racist, anti-Semitic or homophobic murder to stave off God's ongoing judgement of white people for failing to uphold the "Law." For Hoskins this includes such "crimes" as interracial marriage and allowing homosexuals to live.

Documenting a Decade of Hate

America's Promise Ministries

When Dave Barley moved the Lord's Covenant Church and its outreach arm, America's Promise Ministries, from Phoenix, Arizona to Sandpoint, Idaho, in 1991 it was already a significant presence in the movement. From its humble beginnings in 1967, founder Sheldon Emry had built up a substantial tape and literature outlet and radio ministry. By the early 1980s, Emry's broadcasts were heard on more than 25 radio stations across the country. By 1982, Emry had become a key figure with Posse Comitatus and Patriot activists through the publication of such booklets as *Billions for Bankers, Debts for the People,* a diatribe which purported to expose an "anti-Christian" conspiracy located in the Federal Reserve Bank.[23]

In addition to promoting anti-Semitic conspiracy theories at the core of the Identity movement, Emry was a proponent of the importance of human action in building the "Kingdom of God." He believed that in order to build that Kingdom, the racist movement needed a sophisticated paramilitary wing. In a letter to movement collegues about a 1979 gathering of the Christian Patriot Defense League, the first paramilitary effort to come from the Identity movement, Emry writes:

> ...The attaining of the Kingdom is called a "battle," "warfare," we are told to "oppose," and we are called "God's battle ax and weapons of war." ...We must prepare ourselves for that journey and the war for the Kingdom.... That will mean spiritual preparation and physical preparation all the way from survival supplies, weapons and training, to contingency plans.... It means Individual plans and plans with other Identity Christians.... YOU MUST KNOW WHO OUR ENEMIES ARE... every Christian Patriot... [must] begin to collect information files on our enemies with names, home address, place of employment, contacts... personal investigation must all be used to accumulate a list of those who are actively working against true Israel and against Christ's Kingdom.[24]

> "The attaining of the Kingdom is called a "battle," "warfare," we are told to "oppose," and we are called "God's battle ax and weapons of war." That will mean spiritual preparation and physical preparation all the way from survival supplies, weapons and training, to contingency plans.
>
> ***—Dave Barley***

Following Emry's death in 1985, control of the church and its propaganda was up for grabs. Several Identity figures in Emry's circle vied for leadership. Ben Williams initially appeared to inherit the church through the development of a national support network based on his taped sermons.[25] By 1989, Bob Hollstrom, a rabid anti-Semite who reveled in promoting the myth of "Jewish Ritual Murder," also appeared to be developing a following sufficient to replace that of Emry's.[26]

But by 1990 the question of who would take control of Emry's operation was settled. Dave Barley, Emry's son-in-law, assumed the mantle. In early 1991 Barley and a small number of the America's Promise faithful made a

America's Promise Ministries

Pastor Dave Barley
The son-in-law of the late Sheldon Emry

Bob Hollstrom
A rabid anti-Semite who promoted the myth of "Jewish Ritual Murder."

Christian Patriot Defense League

Sheldon Emry
Every Christian Patriot should collect information files on their enemies with names, home address, place of employment, contacts, etc.

The Northwest Imperative:

Barley—
"True, many Jews today, through race-mixing, look White, but they are not!"

"...there is a distinct difference between the Saxon and the Jew."

move to northern Idaho, settling thirty miles north of their Aryan Nations neighbors in the small town of Sandpoint.

The task of establishing a second Christian Identity group in this region of Idaho was made more difficult by the history of racist terror and intimidation already linked with Richard Butler's Aryan Nations. Any association of America's Promise with Butler's group would make establishing cordial relations with the broader community extremely difficult. However, if Barley could successfully distance his group from Aryan Nations, he could hope to win local converts who might be attracted to the basic Identity message.

AMERICA'S PROMISE MINISTRIES
POST OFFICE BOX 157
SANDPOINT, IDAHO 83864

Celto/Saxon, Scandinavian, French, Germanic and kindred people

Barley—
He had to distinguish his group from the Aryan Nations, located thirty miles to the South.

Moderating the image, but not the message, of America's Promise.

The task of defining himself and his followers in the context of the Aryan Nations set the stage for a number of innovations in Barley's theology. The America's Promise leader began to formulate a kinder and gentler Identity rhetoric, which he began to call the "Kingdom" message. One of his first efforts to push this new rhetoric followed the appearance of several articles in the Spokane *Spokesman Review* and other local newspapers. The articles correctly described Barley's ministry as "known for its white supremacist and anti-Semitic message."[27]

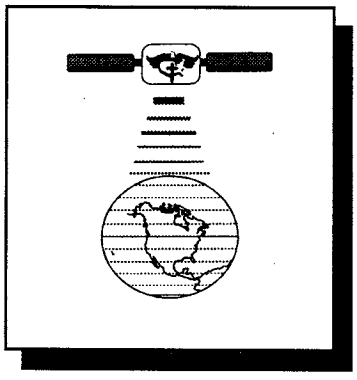
Barley responded to the charges with a letter to the editor which is reprinted in the April/June 1991 issue of *America's Promise Newsletter*. His attempts to make the philosophy of Identity seem benevolent fail, however, and he ends up demonstrating the veracity of the very accusations of racism and anti-Semitism he intended to rebut. Barley writes:

> We are guilty of believing that Jesus Christ chose only those of His own race to be his 12 disciples, and that he did not go out and choose 2 Chinese, 2 blacks, 2 Indians, 2 Arabs, 2 Women or 2 Homosexuals, therefore he would be called a "Supremacist, Racist and Bigot" by today's worldly standards....
>
> We are guilty of teaching that the majority of those who call themselves Jews today, are not the true racial descendants of (Jacob) Israel.
>
> We are guilty of teaching that the true (Jacob) Israel people are today known as the Celto/Saxon, Scandinavian, French, Germanic and kindred people.[28]

In attempting to forge a niche for himself, Barley has emphasized an artificial distinction between white Anglo-Saxons chosen by God as a "servant" and not a "superior" race. The distinction is facile, and in any case intended to highlight the need for strict obedience to God's laws (as interpreted by Barley) on the part of Identity followers.

A close reading of the writings of Barley and his America's Promise associates betrays many of the same core beliefs as those advocated by the Aryan Nations. In a recent issue of the group's newsletter, pastor Barley writes:

> True, many Jews today, through race-mixing, look White, but they are not! This is why the term *"White race"* in and of itself, is very vague and misleading.
>
> *An increasing number of Christians are beginning to understand that the preponderance of Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian, and kindred people are the true racial descendants of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob~Israel, and that not all who are classified as "White," are racially the same.* This is especially true regarding the Jew.... I'm raising this issue to inform those who may not be aware that there is a distinct difference between the Saxon and the Jew.[29]



Another rhetorical tool used by Barley to emphasize his group's "moderate" image has been the subject of the role of God, as opposed to man, in establishing the Kingdom of God. Using this distinction—between God's action and "Man's action"—technically known as Dispensationalism—Barley seeks once again to counter-pose his church with that of the Aryan Nations:

Documenting a Decade of Hate

> My point is that you and I are in Babylon and we will not come out of Babylon until God Almighty makes a way for His people to leave it! ....[30]

"Babylon" is a term for United States civil authority and our society as it is presently constituted. "Coming out of Babylon," is taken to mean rejecting society and selective rules, laws and regulations (e.g. drivers' licenses, taxes, etc.).

Barley seeks to satisfy both sides of a debate within Identity circles while maintaining "plausible deniability" regarding any sort of promotion of violence. He says both that God's action will determine when, where and how Identity Christianity will triumph *and* that human action is warranted in order to bring that triumph about.

In other America's Promise material Alan Campbell spells out an end-time view that places "man" in a role of holding onto the seats of power until Christ returns to establish the "kingdom":

> Now we can occupy 'til Jesus comes, but to occupy implies you're holding onto a besieged city like the Alamo.... Occupying is not establishing the Kingdom, it's just holding on until the relief forces arrive.
>
> We're not going to establish the kingdom and then bring Jesus back, we're going to occupy until circumstances are so dangerous... that He personally will intervene and come back... to establish that Kingdom here on earth.[31]

America's Promise eschatology, as described here, while not involving the overt descriptions of army building and warfare of the Aryan Nations, nonetheless involves a role for human action—that of holding a losing position in a battle "like the Alamo." In effect, the idea that Identity believers should be ready and willing to do battle with their Jewish and non-white enemies is directly linked to Christ's return in Barley's view.

Given the penchant of Identity racists to interpret such things as interracial marriage as an onslaught against the white race, the defensive posture embodied in America's Promise eschatology could easily include "hanging on" by actively opposing "race mixing," for in-

The Laws, Statutes, and Judgements of God

"Those conversant with the theological climate in America are aware of the great renewal of interest in the study of Biblical Law. This interest is not only in the Law itself, but in its application to the solution of our national and international problems. This is not only evident among Anglo-Israel Believers, who have taught the need of a return to Biblical Law, but other groups among evangelical Christians and Christian Legal Societies are adding their voice to the ever increasing demand to return to the administration of Divine Law for national righteousness."

I. OBLIGATIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES TOWARD GOD

- Israel NOT to Practice those Things Which Are An Abomination Unto the LORD: Homosexuality And Lesbianism (Lev. 18:22, 26, 27, 29; Lev. 20:13, 23; Rom. 1:24-28, 32; I Cor. 6:9).
- Racial Inter-marriage (Ezra 9:1-14; Ezra 10:10; Mal. 2:11).
- God's People, Israel, to Become Known as the "Sons of God" or Christians (Jer. 50:6, 17; Hosea 1:10).
- There Is To Be One Law For Israel and The Foreigner Living IN the Midst of Her (Ex. 12:49; Lev. 24:22; Num. 9:14; Num. 15:15, 29).

VIII. DOMESTIC RELATIONS

- Israelites to Marry Within Own Tribe or Race (Numbers 36:12).
- Intermarriage of Israelites with the Heathen Forbidden (Gen. 28:6; Ex. 34:12-16; Deut. 7:1-4; Joshua 23:12, 13; Judges 3:5-8; I Kings 11:2-4; Ezra 9:1, 1, 12; Ezra 10:10, 11; Neh. 10:30; Neh. 13:25; Mal. 2:11, 12).
- Intermarriage With Unbelievers Forbidden (Deut. 7:1-4).

XXV. LEGAL PROCEDURE

- Capital Punishment To Be Administered For Crimes Of:
- Sodomy—Homosexuality Or Sexual Relations With Animals (Lev. 20:13, 15, 16).
- Witchcraft (Ex. 22:18).
- Disobedience To Parents (Ex. 21:15, 17; Deut. 21:18-21).
- Worship of False Gods (Deut. 17:2-5).
- Blasphemy (Lev. 24:11-16, 23).
- Desecration of the Sabbath (Num. 15:32-36)

America's Promise Ministries has distributed a Christian Identity Biblical Index titled An Index to The Laws, Statues, and Judgments of God *(Spokane, Washington: Christ's Gospel Fellowship, undated),compiled byWarren and Joyce Fennell. A portion of the introduction by Pastor Curtis Clair Ewing and selected references are reprinted below.*

The Northwest Imperative:

Barley has taken to promoting the formation of "Citizen's Militias" in order to better "Serve."

stance. It is little surprise, then, that Barley has taken to endorsing efforts to promote the formation of "citizens militias."

> Here in the United States, *I would recommend citizens be trained in their own communities in the use of weapons, and all men should be encouraged to use the same type of rifle—preferably one of .308 caliber—making ammunition easily accessible.*

"We the People need a viable militia, and these meetings should be used to select and establish a chain of command. The leaders in turn should organize classes which will help keep the militia prepared to step in and deal with a national emergency, whether caused by enemies foreign or domestic.
—Dave Barley

First Annual Great Northwest Conference

Speakers—
Eustace Mullins
John Weaver
Richard Kelly Hoskins
Randy Grimes
Richard Butler

Butler on Barley & His Flock:
"They preach much the same thing we do....I have nothing against them whatsoever. I think they are real good people."

> *It is ridiculous to think a criminal government will police itself!* That's why We the People need a viable militia, and why these meetings should be used to select and establish a chain of command. The leaders in turn should organize classes which will help keep the militia prepared to step in and deal with a national emergency, whether caused by enemies foreign or domestic.[32]

Also, in the three years that they have been convened, Barley's Bible conferences have attracted the most open and ardent advocates of racist and anti-Semitic violence and murder in the country.

America's Promise sponsored the "1st Annual Great Northwest Conference" in July 1991. Held at a Holiday Inn in Spokane, Washington, the conference attracted two hundred attendees who were treated to a series of sermons by some of the country's leading white supremacists. Speakers included anti-Semite Eustace Mullins and John Weaver, an Identity preacher from Georgia who delivered a fiery oratory on what he called "Molech religion," a Jewish conspiracy said to dominate the U.S. government.

Weaver also promoted his 1991 book *The Christian and Civil Government* which spells out the instances in which a Christian should disobey the government and violate its laws—presumably when it is occupied by Jews as in Weaver's genocidal world view.[33]

Richard Kelly Hoskins, a Virginia Identity leader and author of *Vigilantes of Christendom: The Story of Militant Christianity,* was also present for the event. An advertisement for the book in an America's Promise literature list distributed at the event states:

> Will the Phineas Priesthood once again rise up and administer the Laws of God or will modern day Israel have the same atrocities committed against us as our forefathers? This 482 HARDBACK is a must for the serious Bible student.[34]

A flyer distributed by Hoskins at the event openly called for the death penalty for homosexuals and anyone who charges interest on a loan as well as stating that the Bible forbids interracial marriage and business deals or eating with Jews and people of color.[35]

Randy Grimes, head of the Randle, Washington-based racist book dealership BOHICA Concepts also had a table at the event.[36]

About a half-dozen leaders of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian–Aryan Nations attended the event, including Richard Butler, second-in-command Charles Tate, William Rhodes—a regular at Aryan Nations Congresses who often videotapes the events—and an unidentified neo-Nazi skinhead in full regalia. Tate, the father of Order member David Tate, was given the floor to speak. Butler had previously remarked about America's Promise that "They preach much the same thing we do... I have nothing against them whatsoever. I think they are real good people; I'm glad to have them around."[37]

In addition to these leaders of national stature, a number of regional figures spoke including Troy Anderson, a graduate of Mike Watson's Kingdom Covenant College in Grants

Documenting a Decade of Hate

Pass, Oregon, Ernestine Young who runs an Identity church in Nampa, Idaho, Dave Parkhurst of the Olympia Christian Fellowship in Olympia, Washington and Ken Anderson, who has most recently served as a trainer in James "Bo" Gritz's SPIKE Trainings.[38]

And Barley himself has, at times, promoted extremely provocative ideas. He has written, "RIGHTEOUS CIVIL UPRISINGS WERE A GOOD AND NECESSARY CLEANSING PROCESS."

> Riots and tumults happened in all governments down through the ages. For us to block our minds to this truth is to not deal with reality, and to seek a world completely free of them is to deny a vitally important and occasionally necessary avenue for the people to redress their grievances with their government which has grown repressive.[39]

The third annual America's Promise conference held July 22 – 24, 1994 gave the spotlight to former Ku Klux Klan and Aryan Nations leader Louis Beam. Only two weeks before Beam was a featured speaker at the Aryan World Congress, held in Hayden Lake, Idaho. In introducing Beam, Barley praised the veteran racist as a "Christian warrior" whom Barley would like to emulate.[40]

Other speakers included John Weaver, who offered a sermon which concluded that people of color lacked souls and would only enter the Kingdom of God as subordinates to whites, Alan Campbell, Keith Roberts, and Everett Siliven. The latter is a Nebraska fundamentalist preacher active in the Coalition of Unregistered Churches now operating under the name Dr. Everett Ramsey. Mark Reynolds, the Colville, Washington head of Judah's Praise Ministries and host of his own radio show appeared at the event as a musical performer along with Troy Anderson.[41]

In addition to these annual conferences, America's Promise Ministries presently peddles its message of hate through the extensive distribution of racist audio and videotapes and literature. In early 1992 the group began production of a weekly satellite television program usually hosted by Alan Campbell.[42]

Barley ventured into arenas more overtly political in 1992 and 1993. He distributed cassette tapes of far right leader James "Bo" Gritz during his 1992 presidential campaign and appeared as a speaker at an early meeting of the now defunct United Citizens for Justice (UCJ). UCJ was formed in September 1992 to seek a grand jury investigation into the death of Vicki and Samuel Weaver following the August 1992 stand-off between Identity adherent Randy Weaver and Federal Marshals.

Ernie Nicholson, a regular writer for the newsletter who often draws on Reconstructionist materials for his essays handles the printing operation of the church. Martha Barley, Dave's wife, writes a regular column for the newsletter geared towards racist women. Chris Temple, a Montana Identity leader, has also written for the publication. According to *America's Promise Newsletter*, Temple appeared as a speaker at the group's 1993 conference held in Sandpoint.[43]

Ken Anderson

Louis Beam
The former Klan and Aryan Nations organizer had the spotlight at Barley's July, 1994 Conference.

Alan Campbell
The Ireland-based Identity minister is a close associate of Barley's & runs the group's Satellite program.

Chris Temple

Reconstructionism

United Citizens For Justice

"Riots and tumults happened in all governments down through the ages. For us to block our minds to this truth is to not deal with reality, and to seek a world completely free of them is to deny a vitally important and occasionally necessary avenue for the people to redress their grievances with their government which has grown repressive."
—Dave Barley

Christian Israel Covenant Church

Ray C. Barker— Jews are those "whose religion or faith is Satanic Judaism."

Christian Israel Covenant Church

Barker & The Klan
The Identity pastor has opened his home for meetings of the Klan-dominated Pierce County chapter of the Populist Party of Washington State.

Edomite so-called Jews

Barker & Populist Party Chair Don Wassall

Just outside the town of Gig Harbor, Washington, Ray C. Barker, the grand-fatherly patriarch of many western Washington Identity figures, operates his Christian Israel Covenant Church. Barker goes to great lengths to assure potential recruits that he does not view Jews as a biological race, but rather as those "whose religion or faith is Satanic Judaism."[44] As with most purveyors of Identity Christianity, Barker generally fails to make a convincing case, betraying his theology as racist and anti-Semitic.

In his taped lecture "The Viper Connection," for instance, Barker launches into a seemingly religious-based attack on Jewish people. Posing the question "Who or what is a so-called Jew?" Barker's answer: "one whose faith is Judaism... one whose religion is Satanic Judaism." Only moments later, however, Barker reverses himself with a diatribe attacking "a particular race of people" who "go by the name of Jews." He Declare that this "race" is recognized by "certain physical features such as curly black hair, balding forehead, small stature [and] large nose." Barker concludes, "These people are Edomite Jews. They are no more a chosen race of people than the Oriental Jews or the black Jews."[45]

In addition to betraying his obsession with physical traits, Barker's allusion to Jews as an impostor "chosen race" of people underlines another aspect of his argument—that whites constitute not a superior race of people but a people "chosen to be a servant race," a facile distinction used by many Identity leaders.[46]

As Barker describes it, the purpose for which his flock is "chosen" is a massive outpouring of violence against Jewish people:

> One of these days..., God will remove the blinders from the eyes of his true Israelite people and when he does, they will realize the monstrous and evil deception that has been perpetrated upon them. They will see that they've been lied to at every turn of the road by the world controllers, who are no less than these Edomite so-called Jews.... The descendants of Jacob would set fire to the Esau-ites or the Edomites and... in doing so would utterly and totally destroy this Edomite, Khazar, Jewish monster.[47]

"God will remove the blinders from the eyes of his true Israelite people and when he does, they will realize the monstrous and evil deception that has been perpetrated upon them. They will see that they've been lied to at every turn of the road by the world controllers, who are no less than these Edomite so-called Jews.... The descendants of Jacob would set fire to the Esau-ites or the Edomites and... in doing so would utterly and totally destroy this Edomite, Khazar, Jewish monster."

—Ray Barker

Given his active theology, it is not suprising that Barker has played a role in the Populist Party of Washington. In addition to opening his home for meetings of the Klan-led Pierce County chapter of the party, Barker appeared as a speaker at a 1992 Populist Party function held for visiting national party chair Don Wassall.[48]

At the Wassall event, Barker urged all present to return to their churches and urge greater political involvement on the part of their pastors. Barker's regular church following is small, though his ties to the Ku Klux Klan and the Populist Party extends his influence among Northwest racists.

Christ's Gospel Fellowship

Christ's Gospel Fellowship

THE PATHFINDER

— PULPIT — PRESS — RADIO —

WORSHIP SERVICES
SUNDAY SCHOOL 9:30 A.M.
WORSHIP SERVICE 10:50 A.M.

SEPTEMBER - 1992

PASTOR KARL F. SCHOTT
THE PATHFINDER
728 E. RICH • P.O. BOX 291
SPOKANE, WASHINGTON 99210

Karl Schott, who moved from Idaho to Spokane, Washington nearly fifteen years ago, has become best known in the movement for his annual Bible conferences, held at his Christ's Gospel Fellowship Church, and for his enduring short-wave radio program and monthly publication *The Pathfinder*.

Theologically Schott places a great deal of emphasis on the idea that God, not Identity followers, will play the determining role in establishing the Kingdom of God for the Lost Tribes. As such, his efforts seem focused on transmitting his theological message to his followers and presenting Christian Identity to the broader community as just another branch of Christianity. Schott's program, along with that of Kingdom Covenant College pastor Mike Watson, constitute the two most serious efforts to mainstream the bigoted message of Identity Christianity in the region.

Schott's interpretation of scripture typically places less stress on human agency and a stronger emphasis on the role of God in determining the fate of the "Twelve Tribes of Israel" (i.e. white people) and the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth. He has written that "patriots" who defy laws governing the payment of taxes do so in violation of God's will for Christians. In a 1986 edition of his newsletter, Schott quotes the apostle Peter who admonishes Christians to "submit yourselves to every ordinance of man."[49]

In the same issue of *The Pathfinder* he goes on to write, "One of the best ways for Christians to meet the accusations of our enemies is to lead a life of integrity and honesty" an important theme to Christian fundamentalists and other mainstream conservatives.[50]

The idea is that individual initiative and "good living" please God. Political involvement is generally limited to the "saving" of individual sinners rather than the conquest of political institutions and the "world of men." In general, Schott believes God will change the world of men and establish His Kingdom on earth when He deems it appropriate to do so; not when individual Identity Christians decide is the time.

At his 1991 Bible conference, Schott reiterated his position on defying civil authority by rhetorically asking Christian Patriots engaged in tax resistance and vigilante activity: "What would we get if everyone took the law into their own hands? Anarchy!"[51]

Schott, however adds an important caveat to this message of obedience to government, noting that

> under normal circumstances the Christian is to be obedient to the law of the land. This does not mean that the Christian is to obey regulations that are immoral or anti-Christian. In such cases it is the Christian's duty to obey God rather than men.[52]

Such a statement leaves the door of interpretation wide open as to which "regulations" true believers can righteously ignore.

The relative moderation of Schott's project should not cause an underestimation of the threat of Schott's style of Identity to a community. Much as Aryan Nations-style groups, Schott preaches that Identity Christians are

Karl Schott
One of the best ways to defeat your enemy is to live a life of honesty & integrity.

Christ's Gospel Fellowship

Pulpit
Press
Radio

Determining the fate of the "Twelve Tribes of Israel."

Schott's Moderate Style
Don't underestimate the threat that this "soft-core" Identity can have to a community.

Schott—
He envisions a racially purified nation and the eventual removal of Jews from America.

Speakers At Schott's Bible Conferences:
J.V. Foster
Robert Record
Mike Watson

Dean Rusk's *The Other End of the World*—
What Schott presented to the Spokane Chief of Police.

U.S. News & World Report
An unlikely publication to find advertisements for Schott's ***Pathfinder Newsletter.***

The Jubilee
Fast becoming the flagship publication of the Identity movement.

under attack by a powerful Jewish conspiracy to undermine their "rightful" place in America. Like Richard Butler, Schott envisions a racially purified nation and the eventual removal of Jews from America. The disagreement is not whether such a thing *should* happen, but how, by whom and when.

Schott has written,

> As we consider... long range prophecy... it becomes apparent that the time is coming... when the Edomites (Jewish people) will migrate in large numbers and take their place in the Christian Nations . . . .
>
> . . . Edom will gain tremendous influence among the children of Israel . . . . We see this as they have gained powerful positions in Government, the banking institutions, the news media, the movie industry, etc. They have become so powerful in many areas of our government and society that they are able to influence the direction that the nation is going . . . .
>
> The Edomites have become so entrenched that we as a people will need the Lord's help to get them out of not only our government but our Kingdom or nation as well.[53]

Schott promoted America's Promise Ministry events during the time Ben Williams headed the Arizona-based group[54] and present-day America's Promise leader Dave Barley was cordially introduced to the audience at Schott's 1991 conference.[55] In addition, Schott has sold such books as *War Cycles/Peace Cycles* by Richard Kelly Hoskins.[56] This book was Hoskin's precursor to the *Vigilantes of Christendom* and marks the first appearance of the idea of the murderous Phineas Priesthood in the Identity movement.

Regular guest speakers at Schott's annual bible conferences have included J.V. Foster, an Identity minister from Texas, Robert Record from California and Mike Watson of Kingdom Covenant College in Grants Pass, Oregon.

There is the possibility Schott's efforts to present a moderate view of Christian Identity to the broader community could contribute to a more open acceptance of the movement's insidious teachings. At his 1991 conference Schott recounted the story of how, following the appearance of a newspaper story highlighting the racism of the Identity movement, he had approached the chief of Police of Spokane, seeking to develop a relationship and giving him a copy of Dean Rusk's *The Other End of the World*, a book which lays out the basic Identity equation of white people as the Twelve Tribes of Israel.[57]

In 1993 Schott ran ads for *Pathfinder* in *U.S. News and World Report* in an effort to revive his national audience, but the chance of a resurgence by the aging Idenity pastor is slim.[58] With the rise of national figures such as Pete Peters and regional leaders like Dave Barley, Schott's popularity in the Identity movement has declined. While his 1991 conference drew about 70 people, his 1992 conference was canceled due to a lack of interest.[59] Schott's radio show has also been dropped from the air in a number of locations.

The Jubilee

Contemporaneous with the rising influence of Colorado Identity leader Pete Peters as the movement's key figure of the 1990s, is the rise in stature of the Midpines, California-based *Jubilee*. This bi-monthly tabloid has fast become the flagship publication of the Identity movement. Since its creation in 1988, the paper has in many ways come to represent to the Identity movement what the *Spotlight* is to the racist movement as a whole—a good quality forum for advancing the movement's doctrine and keeping readers abreast of situations needing their immediate attention. It also carries feature stories, personal profiles, and "human interest" sections that help blunt the harsh racist rhetoric so often encountered by the reader in the "news" stories. In short, the *Jubilee* has something for every bigot.

Documenting a Decade of Hate

The *Jubilee* is a family affair. Paul Hall, Sr. serves as senior advisor, Paul Hall, II, publisher and managing editor, while Paula Hall serves as the paper's treasurer. Other staffers include Tom Blair as news editor, Tim Holt who works in advertising and June Lilley Holt, who coordinates the paper's "Political Prisoner Services." The columnists and correspondents have expanded to include Bruce McCarthy, Ted Weiland, Frank Isbell, Chris Temple, David Loring, Joe Lockhart, Roger Roots and Butch Chancellor. The "Supreme Editor-in-Chief" is listed as "Yahweh."

Jubilee Editor-in-Chief: "Yahweh."

Regular columns in the *Jubilee* include "Badge Busters" which purports to document abuse and oppression by law enforcement against Patriots; "Capitol Crimes," "S.A.D. update—Sodomites Against Decency," "Israeli Terror Watch," "Victims of B.O.G. [Babylonian Occupational Government]," "Christian Youth," "Yah's Laws," a regular column by Identity pastor Ted Weiland, "Christian Biblical Perspectives," a column by Rossella Lambert and "Captive Christians."

Jubilation Celebrations

Besides forging a national audience for Identity leaders and assorted white supremacists, in 1991 the group initiated an annual conference that represents a number of important breakthroughs for the movement as a whole. The first annual "Jubilation Celebration," held during the summer of 1991 in Sacramento, California, drew approximately 100 people. The event featured movement leaders such as Ken Anderson, Louis Beam and, in an unusual twist for such an event, a California state representative, Republican Don Rogers.[60] Rogers, an anti-environmentalist and ultra-conservative fixture in the California State Assembly, has become an important addition to the ranks of *Jubilee* supporters, and has provided a veneer of respectability for the Identity movement that it has rarely been able to attain. In spite of this, the 1991 and 1992 conferences made little impres-

Phineas Priesthood Emerges To Combat Aborticide?

Don Wayne
CNS MANAGER

On July 29th, 1994 in Pensacola, Florida, Paul Hill a former minister of the Presbyterian Church in America and the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, who strongly opposes the genocide of unborn children, shot and killed two men. Hill blasted abortionist "Dr." Britton and his escort in the face with a 12 gauge shotgun outside the Pensacola Ladies Center. Perhaps realizing that his work was unpopular at best, Britton was wearing a bullet-proof vest at the time of the shooting. Hill is being charged with two counts of murder and one count of attempted murder.

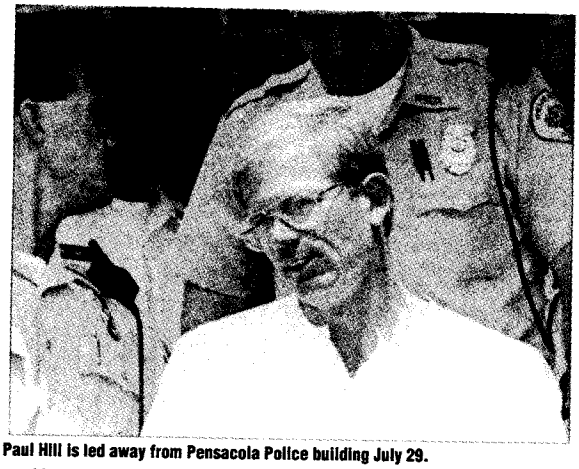
This is the second time an abortionist has been killed in Pensacola in the past 17 months. Abortionist Dr. Gunn, was shot down on March 10, 1993 outside *Pensacola Women's Medical Services Clinic* for his involvement in aborticides. The man convicted of the murder (retroactive abortion) of Dr. Gunn, Michael F. Griffin, is now serving a life sentence in prison. Other slayings have occurred *outside* of clinics in Witchita, Kansas and just last August another shooting (retroactive abortion) occurred, killing an abortion doctor in Mobile, Alabama.

In the biased coverage of the Edomite controlled media, Hill was repeatedly cited as a minister "who advocates violence." A so-called "expert" on mass murder was heavily quoted to vilify the man who admits he took the Biblical principal "do unto others as you would have them do unto you" to heart. Hill said in a previous interview this year, "If an abortionist is about to violently take an innocent persons life, you are entirely moraly justified in trying to prevent him from taking that life." Eric W. Hickey (the so-called expert) said "Mr. Hill is a man who fits the classic profile of a religious fanatic who believes he can put ***man's law*** aside." Adding, "He has justified himself, but the Bible doesn't justify murder. God does not sanction us to kill each other."

But many who are angry about the exorbitant amount of abortions performed each year in America point out that children are being killed on a routine basis (some 4000 a day), because ***"man's law"*** condones the practice it calls "planned parenthood." While Planned Parenthood's public affairs coordinator Holly Potter of California maintains "Hill's group is part of an ongoing *conspiracy* of violence against women and health-care providers."

Planned Parenthood considers abortion a "medical procedure" that involves the woman's body alone and the aborticide practitioner is in a "health-care role" to help women with health problems (unwanted children). What they refuse to consider, which life advocates do, is the fact that there is a third party involved, namely the unborn child—renamed a *fetus*. This is from where the anger stems: On one hand you have laws (man's law) that say if you kill a doctor or anyone else, you have committed murder — a horrible crime. On the other hand, if you are inconvenienced by a preborn child (fetus), you can go to a "doctor" and legally use the brutal procedure of tearing the unborn child out of the womb with a suction device. A practice that with out a doubt, ends life.

At the scene of the shooting, Pensacola Police Sgt. Jerry Potts said, "It's not a pretty sight to see two people shot in the head with a shotgun." But those who understand the practice of aborticide, like Hill, contend it isn't a pretty sight to see a waste container filled with the violently shredded remains of unborn children. The media has branded Hill as a cold blooded, psychopathic killer, while the "doctor" who performed hundreds of abortions, a practice that many see as psychopathic and cold blooded, is exalted as a "likable man." Many advocates of pre-borns' right to life are outraged that what they (and God) consider to be murder is sanctioned by the Edomite controled media and the courts.



Paul Hill is led away from Pensacola Police building July 29.

Americans can undoubtedly expect to hear a louder cry for stricter gun control to "stop the senseless violence on health-care providers." In the upside-down world of "man's law" who knows what's next. Will people be ***forced*** to abort (sacrifice) their first born as in Biblical times under Canaanite rule, when people sacrificed their first-born as part of their Baal worship?

When Hill was arrested he said, "I know one thing; No innocent babies are going to be killed in that clinic today." Perhaps Hill, knowledgeable in scripture, relied on the example of Phineas who saved Israel from the wrath of God by punishing those who broke His law! (Antiquities Bk.4:6:10, 4:6:12-13, 4:7:1, Psalms 106:30,37-39) ❐

Jubilation Celebration 1993—
Pete Peters
Larry Pratt (Gun Owners of America)
Ken Anderson
Chris Temple
Louis Beam

"Yah's Laws"

News Editor Tom Blair—
Was disaffected with the John Birch Society because of their unwillingness to be openly racist.

California State Assembly Member Don Rogers—
A surprise and welcome addition to the 1992 & 1994 Jubilation Celebrations.

Rogers On the *Jubilee*—
"they are a group of patriotic Americans looking to preserve and restore their individual freedoms."

sion on the movement as a whole.

In September 1993 at the third annual "Jubilation Conference," Hall and company did succeed in lighting a fire to the movement. Held in Sacramento, California and convened in the shadow of the Weaver siege, the conference attracted Identity minister Pete Peters, Gun Owners of America head Larry Pratt, Identity nutritionist Ken Anderson, and Chris Temple, the former Moral Majority activist turned Identity follower who had risen to the position of Montana correspondent for the *Jubilee* by the time of the 1993 gathering.[61]

Louis Beam also played an important role and had by that time become an official correspondent for the *Jubilee*, writing articles about the Weaver siege, the Waco situation, and other incidents of government dealings with religious extremists.[62]

With the addition of Beam, the *Jubilee* staff had come to represent nearly the full spectrum of the white supremacist movement. First and foremost was the strong presence of Christian Identity leaders. Besides Paul Hall II, there was Ted Weiland, a Nebraska Identity preacher brought into the movement by Peters, who wrote a regular column titled "Yah's Laws," and columnist Bruce McCarthy, the Oklahoma-based head of Kingdom Restoration Ministries.

The paper also added Tom Blair as news editor, bringing a strong contingent of staff members steeped in white supremacist doctrine. Blair is a racist eclectic, professing and supporting ideas and leaders from the full spectrum of the movement. He claims to have entered the right-wing movement through the John Birch Society, becoming disaffected with their unwillingness to be openly racist. Blair writes,

> The way that liberals and anti-Christian forces have claimed the Constitution as their own, twisting it into a document that has no resemblance to the intentions of our founding fathers, confuses the John Birch Society, but not patriotic Christians. The Constitution reflects the values of the white, European, Christians who founded this nation. The changing interpretations of the Constitution reflect a change in the power structure of America away from its founders in favor of alien peoples with alien Gods.[63]

Elsewhere Blair endorses two neo-Nazi organizations, William Pierce's National Alliance and the Institute for Historical Review.[64]

Anti-Environmentalism Meets Christian Identity

In addition to attracting the most important Christian Identity leaders in the country, the *Jubilee* has had considerable success exploiting issues with origins in the so-called "wise-use" movement, such as opposition to land use planning laws and "sovereign county" measures designed to thwart federal jurisdiction.

By raising the attention of its readers to these issues, the *Jubilee* managed to win the backing of California state representative Don Rogers, who became a welcome addition to the 1992 and 1994 Jubilation Celebrations. Rogers' lecture at the 1992 conference focused on economic problems caused by environmental regulation, a key theme of the anti-environmental movement. That conference received only local press scrutiny and very little opposition. But Rogers' 1994 appearance generated a good deal of controversy as the Coalition for Human Dignity and other civil rights organizations brought the nature of the gathering to the attention of the local and regional media, including the *Los Angeles Times*. The California State Senator presented a lecture on "states rights" at the 1994 Jubilation.[65] Just prior to the event, Rogers was quoted as saying,

> The theme I get from reading their newspaper [*The Jubilee*-ed] occasionally is that they are a group of patriotic Americans looking to preserve and restore their individual freedoms.[66]

Another public official who was a featured speaker at the 1994 Jubilation was Richard Carver, a Nye County, Nevada county commissioner. Carver is generally acknowledged to be a pioneer in devising legal strategies for thwarting federal jurisdiction over state and county government and is a recognized leader in the wise-use movement.

Documenting a Decade of Hate

The day before the event the *Las Vegas Sun* quoted Carver as stating, "I have never been a racist in my life. I just don't believe that crap.... If they [the *Jubilee*] are trying to bring in white supremacy, I will walk out."[67]

In the same article, Carver provides an interesting example of how anti-environmentalists and white supremacists can find common ground with one another. According to the *Sun*, Carver suggested the "race issue" was raised by the federal government. The *Sun* quotes Carver further, "The feds are desperate. There's no telling what they'll do. It's government-backed to try to quiet me down."[68]

The *Jubilee* staff also succeeded in attracting the interest of another law maker, Colorado state representative Charles Duke. Duke, a Republican from Colorado Springs, was also scheduled to deliver a keynote address on "states' rights" but canceled at the last minute. "I did not wish to have any sort of racist intonation with my 10th amendment resolution ..." he was quoted as saying.[69]

The three public officials mentioned above represent the first time elements of the Christian Identity movement have forged strong links with elements of the so-called wise-use movement, a development that bears further research.

Concerning Rogers' attendance at the Jubilation celebration, the August 26, 1994 edition of the *Los Angeles Times* editorialized:

> State Sen. Don Rogers says he sees nothing wrong with his planned appearance Saturday night at a convention of alleged white supremacists. We do. Rogers, an Antelope Valley Republican, will be sharing the speaker's platform in Bakersfield with a former leader of the Ku Klux Klan in Texas and an organizer for the Aryan Nation. They and other kindred spirits will be there under the auspices of a newspaper called *Jubilee*, which is a national publication of the Christian Identity movement. According to a respected watchdog group, that movement's followers consider just about everyone who is not of Northern European background to be racially inferior. Nice company to be in, if you happen to be a practicing bigot. But hardly the kind of company that any responsible state official would choose to spend an evening with.

Wise Use Leader Dick Carver of Nye County, Nevada

Charles Duke of Colorado Springs, Colorado

The *Los Angeles Times* On Rogers— "State Sen. Don Rogers says he sees nothing wrong with his planned appearance Saturday night at a convention of alleged white supremacists. We do."

Judah's Praise Ministries

Judah's Praise Ministries occupies an interesting place in the panoply of groups that make up the Christian Identity movement. Headed by Colville, Washington Identity believer Mark Reynolds, Judah's Praise is a musical group that plays a fusion of gospel-bluegrass injected with lyrics that reflect many of the concerns found in Identity theology. Lacking overt racism and anti-Semitism, however, Judah's praise songs include such titles as "Washed in the Blood," "I Will Sing Unto Yahweh" and "Awake O' Israel."[70]

Played at Bible conferences, home "fellowships" and various "feast" celebrations, such music supplies the Identity movement with its "positive" social glue. It helps sustain a culture which insiders view as embodying a love of the "Israelite" people and a vision of the return of their race to its rightful and regenerated position as the heirs of a "Kingdom of God" on earth.

Besides Reynolds, the musicians that make up Judah's Praise include Tony Mansfield, Jim Murphy and Jeff Ryan. The quartet has produced two tape cassettes recorded at Harvest Productions in Northport, Washington.[71] In 1992, following the release of the group's first tape *I Will Follow Thee*, Judah's Praise boasted a mailing list of about 300.[72]

Judah's Praise leader Reynolds is not shy about expressing his opinions of other Identity organizations. When Washington state Aryan Nations leader and racist skinhead Justin Dwyer settled briefly in Colville, Washington in June 1992, Reynolds employed him in his plumbing business, making a concerted effort to "get Justin out of the Aryan Nations."[73]

His attempts to extricate the young racist

Judah's Praise Songs—
"Washed In Blood"
I Will Sing Unto Yahweh"
"Awake O' Israel"

Racist Skinhead Justin Dwyer

Biblical Illiterates

skinhead from the premier Identity group in the region were motivated by his view that Aryan Nations leaders do not teach "true" Identity Christianity. In fact, Reynolds views many Aryan Nations followers as "Biblical illiterates" and Aryan Nations-style Christian Identity as "a slap in a lot of our faces."[74]

Despite his criticism of the Aryan Nations, however, Reynolds is a committed Christian Identity racist. Reynolds claims, for instance, that when whites have children in mixed-race marriages "we destroy our heritage." He also supports the view that interracial marriage should be outlawed, stating in a phone interview with the Coalition for Human Dignity that, "If the Bible has a law against interracial marriage, then it should be the law of the land."[75]

While adamantly denying a belief in a Jewish conspiracy, Reynolds nonetheless has stated that Jews are "taking advantage of the situation" of being viewed as "God's chosen people" and that Jews "may be" one of many tools used to "hammer on (Israel) when they do not follow God's Law."[76]

In a June 1992 letter to the editor of the Colville *Statesmen Examiner*, Reynolds wrote,

> Do you think 50 years ago the men would allow a rapist to be moved into their community with the government's blessing? Or a porno shop, sodomite bathhouse or a abortuary [sic]? No, because men were men. Now we have a society of "emasculated whimps" who want to be preached "love" and "tolerance" when true love is for the many, not the one pervert! Case in point, laws to execute sodomites would surely put a quick end to people dying from Aids they got in a restaurant or the dentist's chair! So-called tolerance is anti-Christ and lukewarm![77]

It is not surprising that Reynolds has extensive ties with regional and national Identity leaders. His band has played at the 1991 Bible conference of Colorado Identity leader Pete Peters[78] and the 1994 America's Promise conference in Sandpoint, Idaho.[79]

The cover of Judah's Praise 1992 tape "I Will Follow Thee" further points to the core racist inspiration for the group's music. The cover offers "special thanks to Pete, Ted and Louis for encouragement to use a talent given by our Father to praise Him and to bless His people with song."[80] Reynolds confirms that the "Pete, Ted and Louis" refers to Colorado Identity leader Pete Peters, Nebraska racist Ted Weiland and Louis Beam, the former Klansmen and Aryan Nations organizer noted for his promotion of paramilitary organizing.[81]

Reynolds— "Case in point, laws to execute sodmites would surely put a quick end to people dying from Aids they got in a restaurant or the dentist's chair! So-called tolerance is anti-Christ and lukewarm!"

Kingdom Covenant College

If the Church of Jesus Christ Christian–Aryan Nations stands as the Pacific Northwest's most radical proponent of Identity Christianity, the Grants Pass, Oregon-based Kingdom Covenant College serves as the most important link the movement has to the broader religious right community.

Together with fellow-Identity activist Brad Bulla, pastor Mike Watson founded the Kingdom Covenant College (KCC) in 1988 as an Identity ministry and school for young people.[82]

Pastor Mike Watson is a frequent lecturer at Identity events throughout the United States. In his monthly publication *The Centinel* he typically steers clear of the blatant forms of racism and anti-Semitism found in the writings of his less-schooled brethren. Rather than using blatant racist vitriol, Watson is more likely to promote themes that resonate among Christian fundamentalists, such as the importance of a "literal" reading of the bible. For Watson and many other fundamentalists, Biblical law

Documenting a Decade of Hate

should directly inform and shape governing institutions. A 1992 KCC student, Rhonda Faith Allen, articulates this position well when she writes:

> In a Christian form of government, God's laws as found in the Holy Scriptures are the basis for all conduct, and there can be no question as to whether it is right or not; it is the Word of God... A Christian government's laws are all taken from or at least based on God's Word.... I hope you can see how important it is that our nation turn back to Christian Government.[83]

Watson stepped into his role as a significant Northwest Identity leader beginning with his initiation of the *Remnant Resolves*, a collection of principles adopted at Pete Peter's 1988 Rocky Mountain Bible Camp. As told by Peters, Watson approached him at the camp to initiate the idea of drafting the resolves, presenting his plan to the gathering in a speech titled "Choosing to Resolve." The document is written as a pledge to be made by the senior Identity leaders present at the camp. Two of the "Resolves" state that it is "blasphemous" to allow Jews to hold public office and that interracial marriage "pollutes the integrity of the family."[84]

Elsewhere, Watson describes some "points of unity" among all Identity followers:

> ...We all agree on who the anti-Christ is and we can emphasize that and preach on that. But too much of that and we miss the holiness in our own personal lives that God is looking for. We all agree that self-defense is important. We all agree that abortion is murder. Sodomy is a crime against God. Interracial marriage is evil. Pornography is wickedness before the Lord. So there are lot's of things that we agree on.[85]

Unlike fellow pastor Karl Schott of Christ's Gospel Fellowship, who has condemned patriots who flagrantly violate the law through tax protesting and the refusal to carry drivers' licenses, Watson takes a different approach to the subject of Identity Christians and the government:

> I get sick and tired of so-called patriots telling us that we've got to get rid of all of our licenses and all of our forms and everything else, and not one of them has helped a widow or orphan, that I know of, do the same thing that they've done.... You've got out of Babylon. You don't have any drivers license, you don't have any tax return, you don't do this you don't do that. *You walk as holy as anyone ever walked on the face of the earth.* I challenge you to take a widow woman who would like to do the same thing that you've done, adopt her for the rest of her life so that she does not have to live in Babylon....[86]

More so than any other Identity pastor in the region, Mike Watson is a coalition builder and a serious practitioner of outreach to his brethren trapped within "Judeo-Christian" churches and the "Babylonian system." A skilled preacher and a close reader of biblical text, Watson affirms the racism, anti-Semitism and distrust of civil authority that runs so deep throughout Identity followers, yet tempers this affirmation with sage advice: activists must be skilled in their methods of political activity if they are to be effective.

According to Watson, the broader Christian community should not be denounced, they should be reached out to and converted. Watson makes a point of inviting other Christians into the Identity fold:

> I want to have an open heart for my brother in the Judeo-Christian world. I want to hear what they have to say. One of these days they might listen to what I have to say. But if we just cut them off, and won't let them into our meetings, then I believe we have made a mistake.[87]

As part of his effort to build bridges to broader segments of the Christian community, Watson requires that KCC students participate in "Mercy Ministries," which includes volunteering with a local anti-choice group called "Students for Life."[88] According to KCC graduate and teacher Mark Black, Watson has also made efforts to build a "school ministry" among two Grants Pass-area Christian high schools.[89] In 1992 Watson wrote that KCC students were practicing internships in "Principles of American Christian History for the Elementary Years" at the Pleasant Valley Christian School.[90]

To date Watson's biggest success at outreach to the Christian Right appears to be a November 1991 Thanksgiving event held in Grants Pass that featured David Barton, a ris-

Kingdom Covenant College (KCC)
The most important link to the broader religious right community

Pastor Mike Watson

Pete Peters' 1988 Rocky Mountain Bible Camp

Mike Watson & The Remnant Resolves—
It is blasphemous to allow Jews to hold public office. Interracial marriage pollutes the integrity of the family.

Pastor Karl Schott & Watson

Mercy Ministries

Students For Life

Religious Right Intellectual David Barton

David Barton— A frequent guest on Pat Roberton's 700 Club & the Trinity Broadcasting Network

Ben Gilmore

James Rose's Regional Conference on American Christian Education

Karl Schott
David Parkhurst
Pete Peters

The Principle Approach to Education

Troy Anderson— A KCC graduate who represented the school at America's Promise Ministries.

ing star among religious right intellectuals.[91] More than 400 people attended the event to hear Barton, who is the author of *The Myth of Separation* and has been featured on Pat Robertson's 700 Club and the Trinity Broadcasting Network.

Barton's organization, Wallbuilders, produces a slick monthly magazine and has an active tape cassette and video tape ministry. Barton also addressed Pete Peters' 1991 Rocky Mountain Bible Retreat.[92]

Further evidence of Watson's interest in outreach to evangelicals is his appearance at non-Identity events. He has attended non-Identity seminars sponsored by Ben Gilmore in Morgan Hill, California and credits these seminars with introducing him to the so-called "Principle Approach" to education. Watson and his students have also attended James Rose's non-Identity Western Regional Conference on American Christian Education held in Sacramento, California during 1992.[93]

Kingdom Covenant College representatives have attended the camps of Pete Peters in 1986, 1987, 1988, and 1989 as well as the 1991 conferences of Karl Schott and Dave Parkhurst.[94] Watson has also presented at Dave Barley's "Bible Camps." Speaking on behalf of Watson, KCC graduate Troy Anderson made an appearance at the 1991 America's Promise conference and provided musical entertainment at the Sandpoint, Idaho group's 1994 conference.[95]

Besides students that follow Christian Identity, KCC has hosted at least one neo-Nazi skinhead, Joshua Flanigan from Pennsylvania. A photograph of the young racist printed in Watson's publication shows him dressed smartly in a suit and tie. The young man's hair, however, had not completely grown back at the time the photograph was taken.[96]

The curriculum of Kingdom Covenant College is rooted in the so-called "Principle Approach to Education," a method promoted by the San Francisco based Foundation for American Christian Education. As described by Rosalie Slater, who is credited with developing the method along with Verna Hall, the Principle Approach to Education was initially designed to turn back the influence of secular education methods in Christian schools. Criticizing those who "state that America is pluralistic, Judeo-Christian, or non-Christian," Slater links education to "restoring" a "Christian form of government" in America. She writes:

> The most crucial field of influence in America is the field of education. The basic underlying philosophy guiding our public or state schools is at cross purposes with the fundamental principles which established the American Republic. Christian Schools have a tremendous opportunity to provide the leadership in American education and restore both the philosophy and the academic content which made America pre-eminent as a Christian nation with a Christian form of government.[97]

Watson echoes these ideas. Describing a battle in the education system between "secular humanism" and Christianity, he writes:

> Any method of education which is not God-centered is centered on humanism. There can be no other choice. Education will either instruct in humanistic principles or godly principles....[98]

The nominal success that Watson has had in forging links to some Christian conservatives has not necessarily translated into financial success for Kingdom Covenant College. In 1992 attendance at Watson's school dropped to fewer than ten students, and the organization does not appear to have the immediate capacity to rise to national prominence as did *Scriptures for America* in the late 1980s.

Marble Community Fellowship

In February 1991, when Anne and Barry Byrd set out to build the Marble Community Fellowship near Northport, Washington, they couldn't lose their past. Their Stevens County neighbors were concerned about the couple's possible ties to known white supremacists, including Christian Identity leader Pete Peters, and the Byrd's sought to allay their fears. Barry appeared before the Northport City Council to renounce Peters and Anne assured reporters that their ties to Peters were insignificant and long since over.[99] Asked about their appearance at Peters' Bible camps, Barry assured the city council, "We went there because we were asked to go there.... But we haven't been there for three years."[100]

Much of the controversy focused on a 1989 visit by Peters to nearby Colville. Concern grew that the Byrd's band, Legacy, had performed at the event, while the Byrd's Washington state representative Steve Fuhrman (R-Colville) and several letters to the editor argued that the Byrd's were not present.[101] Barry Byrd assured the City Council that Peters' bigoted views had kept his group from the event: "We're Christians. We don't condone hatred toward anyone," Byrd said.[102]

The controversy over Marble Community Fellowship has divided the community. Efforts on the part of the Byrds and the fifteen assorted families living on the Fellowship grounds to assure the community of their benevolence obscures both the extent of their involvement in the Identity movement and their present agenda.

The Byrd's, through their musical band Legacy, have been leaders in the Pacific Northwest Identity movement for years. By their own account their involvement extends back at least to the mid 1980s.

In 1986, Legacy played at the "Northwest Freedom Rally" in Richland, Washington.[103] Numerous well known white supremacists spoke at the event as well, a pattern that held firm throughout the 1980s.

Legacy played at Pete Peter's Rocky Mountain Bible Camp in 1987, 1988 and 1989. Identity leaders from around the country attend these week-long camps which include Bible study and presentations on movement strategy. Speaking before the Northport city council in May 1992, Barry Byrd acknowledged that his family had performed at Peters' camps.[104] This confession, however, understates his role in the Identity movement.

At Peters' 1988 camp, both Byrd and his brother-in-law Brad Bulla, who is also involved with the Marble Community Fellowship, worked with leading national figures in the Identity movement to draft a strategy document called the *Remnant Resolves.* These documents, produced over a five day period at the camp, express the core beliefs of Identity Christians. In a clear attack on Jews, the *Resolves* state, "It is blasphemous to regard anti-Christs as 'God's chosen people' and to allow them to rule over or hold public office in a Christian Nation." The *Resolves* further state, "Inter-racial marriage pollutes the integrity of the family."[105]

Evidence that Brad Bulla and Barry Byrd held the beliefs expressed in the *Remnant Resolves* comes from Peters' description of the document's adoption. He writes:

> It was agreed at the outset that if all the men on the committee did not agree with the final draft, the entire document would be abandoned and the disagreement would be accepted as an indication that the project was not of God.[106]

Both Bulla and Byrd signed the document and appeared in a photograph with the other members of the "Remnant Resolves Committee."[107] In addition to Peters, the members included such noted racists as Ted Weiland of Nebraska, James Bruggeman of North Carolina, Mike Watson of Grants Pass, Oregon and Ret. Col. Jack Mohr of Mississippi.[108]

Legacy— Christian Identity band played Pete Peters' 1987, 1988 and 1989 Bible camps.

Brad Bulla & Barry Byrd helped draft the "Remnant Resolves."

The Marble Community Fellowship— "Bo"Gritz's Almost Heaven development in Idaho is modeled upon the Byrd's original "Christian Covenant Community."

Ret. Col. Jack Mohr signed the "Remnant Resolves."

The Byrd's & Reconstructionists

Dennis Peacocke— A steering committee member of the secretive and powerful Coalition on Revival

Christian World View Documents

David Parkhurst— The young pastor takes up the reins from the late Claude Inman.

Crossing the Jordan

Dave Barley's America's Promise Ministries

But the Byrd's also have disturbing ties to another religious group that is extremist in its interpretation of the Bible, Christian Reconstructionism. This movement makes its goal the complete "reconstruction" of society along Biblical lines. Among its core beliefs are that other religions do not deserve equal protection under the law and that government must follow its strict religious view to remain legitimate. Some in the movement call for the death penalty for homosexuals. Reconstructionism's extreme religious bigotry and anti-democratic view of government forms a bridge between the white supremacy of the *Remnant Resolves* and the activities of the Byrd's and their present day associates.

Just three weeks after their appearance at Peters' 1989 conference, the Byrds were scheduled to appear at a camp of the Santa Rosa Christian Church in California.[109] In 1975 this church was taken over by leaders associated with Dennis Peacocke, a national leader in the "shepherding movement."[110]

Peacocke is head of the Christian Strategic Services in Santa Rosa, California and is listed as "counsel" to the Byrd's Marble group.[111] In 1986, Peacocke signed onto "The Christian World View Documents," a set of principles that govern the Coalition on Revival, a leadership group composed of Christian Rightists and Reconstructionist leaders from around the country. Peacocke is a steering committee member of this organization. In addition, Shelby Sharpe, the Byrd's legal advisor, is a non-steering committee signer to the document.[112]

The Byrds express anti-democratic themes common to both Reconstructionism and the Identity movement in their stated goals for the Marble Community Fellowship. They write, "We are committed to uniting the generations to labor together to bring the dominion of Christ in every area of life."[113] These "areas" include "education, business and civil government."[114]

Olympia Christian Fellowship– Christian Fellowship Ministries

Following the death of head pastor Claude Inman in 1991, a young pastor in his late 20s, David Parkhurst, took over the reigns of the Olympia Christian Fellowship Church in Olympia, Washington. In 1993 Parkhurst moved the organization from Olympia to Steilacoom, Washington and renamed it Christian Fellowship Ministries.[115]

Much like Christ's Gospel Fellowship pastor Karl Schott, Parkhurst de-emphasizes the racism that is so fundamental to Identity Christianity and sticks primarily to issues of salvation.

Parkhurst's annual Bible camps, begun in 1991, have not generally featured prominent figures in the Christian Identity movement, though attendees at his 1991 conference included Stephen Jones of Batesville, Arkansas, Schott, and Mike Watson.[116]

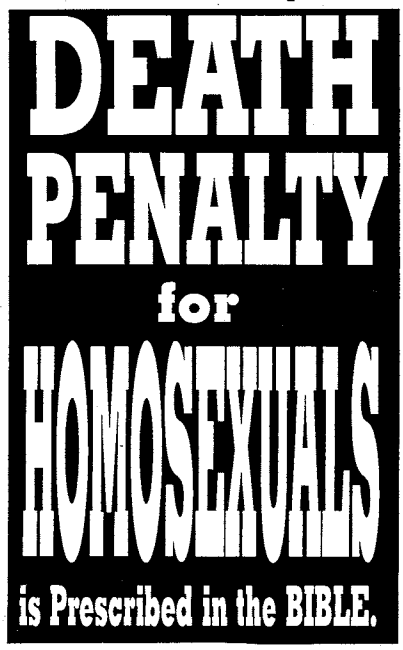
Material on hand at this conference promoted a Fourth of July gathering to be held a Ray Barker's Christian Israel Covenant Church in Gig Harbor, Washington, a more radical Identity church. Although only about 30 people attended Parkhurst's 1991 Bible camp, the young pastor stands a fair chance of bringing younger people into the Identity fold. Given the shortage of young, articulate pastors within the Identity movement, and the resulting difficulty movement leaders sometimes face in attracting young people, the Christian Fellowship Ministries and pastor Dave Parkhurst bear watching.

The young pastor has begun publishing a regular newsletter, *Crossing the Jordan*, and has been a speaker at conferences held by Karl Schott and Dave Barley's America's Promise Ministries.[117]

Scriptures for America–Pete Peters

In the 1986 report *The Christian Identity Movement: Analyzing its Theological Rationalization for Racist and Anti-Semitic Violence*, Leonard Zeskind, the former research director for the Center for Democratic Renewal, observed Pete Peters at the beginning of his ascension to the most influential position in the Identity movement.[118] Zeskind aptly described him as "one of the rising stars on the Identity speaking circuit" and noted that Peters ran a tape sales operation and a small church in Laporte, Colorado, while maintaining radio broadcasts on AM stations in Texas, Nebraska, New Mexico and California.

By the late 1980s an Annual Bible camp sponsored by Peters and his outreach ministry, Scriptures for America, had placed itself in the running as the key annual event of the Identity movement. With the Aryan Nations stinging from the break up of the Order and the Fort Smith Trials, leadership of the Identity movement was becoming an open question. Pete Peters was poised to answer.



The story of Pete Peters is in many ways the story of the modern white supremacist movement. Peters began with the tried and true methods of Identity recruitment — bible conferences and book and tape ministries—with only limited success. But in 1993 he leaped onto the satellite television and shortwave radio airwaves in a manner unmatched by other organized racists.[119] While not from the Pacific Northwest, Peters' impact on this region's white supremacists has been tremendous. From the time when Order member David Lane attended Peters' Sunday services and went on to help form the most sophisticated terrorist underground the United States had seen in decades, to the present when his stature among racists is almost universally hailed, Peters has been a pioneer in expanding the theology of hate.

The gain in Peters' stature became clear during 1986 – 1989 when his annual Rocky Mountain Bible Retreats began to attract national figures such as Richard Hoskins, Jack Mohr, Kirk Lyons (a North Carolina-based white supremacist lawyer) and James "Bo" Gritz. The staying power of Peters' efforts was also apparent. His Bible camps were week-long affairs, combining racist sermons and movement strategizing with music, food, talent contests, match-making, "Anglo-Saxon Sports," and baptismal ceremonies. Attendees heard not only fiery calls to action by leading militants in the movement, but also warm and fuzzy counseling sessions such as "Intimacies in Marriage" conducted by Peters' wife, Cheri.

Where the Aryan Nation's annual World Congress sought to build a viable racist culture around the open flaunting of the symbols of neo-Nazism, Peters has attempted to forge a community based on the religious veneer of a more theologically-oriented brand of Identity.

Peters places a greater emphasis on explicating the often convoluted and confusing theological intricacies of Identity theology than Butler, but his core message is the same: whites are under attack from a Jewish controlled gov-

The Christian Identity Movement: Analyzing its Theological Rationalization for Racist and Anti-Semitic Violence

Death Penalty for Homosexuals

Anglo-Saxon Sports

Peters' Bible Camps— Week-long affairs that include baptismal services, talent contests, music, warm and fuzzy counseling sessions, and hardcore, racist strategizing.

Whites Under Attack

Interracial Mixing

Jews As A "Parasitic" element of society

ernment and threatened by interracial mixing from inferior people of color. A racial Armageddon, involving an outpouring of violence against his enemies, was the solution to this diabolical attack. In pamphlets and radio broadcasts Peters has revealed his hatred for Jews as a "parasitic" element of society which will face dire retribution:

> Once God's laws are obeyed by His people, the body of people shall be healed. Healthy bodies throw off parasites. When there is repentance and obedience to His laws, the porno shop will no longer be on Main Street, the Jewish Hollywood filth will no longer be tolerated, the prostitute-scribe reporter will no longer be allowed to lie, the homosexual and murderer will be removed, the Jewish bankers will no longer be allowed to charge interest....[120]

and authority relations within the family. Embedded in the Resolves were clear instances of racial and religious bigotry, including the position that "inter-racial marriage pollutes the integrity of the family" and that it is "blasphemous" to allow Jews to "hold public office in a Christian Nation."[122]

Among the Northwest leaders working closely with Peters in drafting the document were Brad Bulla and Barry Byrd, then of the music group Legacy, Dan Junker, a barter enthusiast and then-recent Identity recruit from Whatcom County, Washington and Mike Watson. Other national figures who contributed to the document were Mississippi racist Jack Mohr, and Identity leaders Ted Weiland of Nebraska, James Bruggeman of North Carolina and Earl Jones of Arizona.[123] The Resolves were circulated among Identity followers around the country who were urged to sign a form pledging their adherence to the principles laid out in the document.

"Once God's laws are obeyed by His people, the body of people shall be healed. Healthy bodies throw off parasites. When there is repentance and obedience to His laws, the porno shop will no longer be on Main Street, the Jewish Hollywood filth will no longer be tolerated, the prostitute-scribe reporter will no longer be allowed to lie, the homosexual and murderer will be removed, the Jewish bankers will no longer be allowed to charge interest...."
—Pete Peters

"Remnant Resolves" Signers—
Brad Bulla
Barry Byrd
Dan Junker
Mike Watson
Jack Mohr
Ted Weiland
James Bruggeman
Earl Jones

Remnant Resolves

During his 1988 Bible camp, at the time held in Colorado on the grounds of the LaPorte Church of Christ, Peters was approached by Kingdom Covenant College pastor Mike Watson to lead the drafting of a set of principles for the Identity movement called the *Remnant Resolves*. According to Peters, the *Resolves* were written to proclaim the camp attendees' "need and desire to see Biblical principles of government once again established in our government."[121]

The document, later published in booklet form, laid out Identity positions on issues ranging from government and economics to law

Identity and Violence

Peters' history as an Identity leader displays a constant tension in the movement between those who would attempt to moderate the public image of Identity beliefs in search of a broader audience and those committed to advancing the cause through promoting violence and murder. Though some Order mem-

Documenting a Decade of Hate

bers were drawn to his congregation in the early 1980s, Peters' standing with the most violence-prone wing of the movement has not been solid.

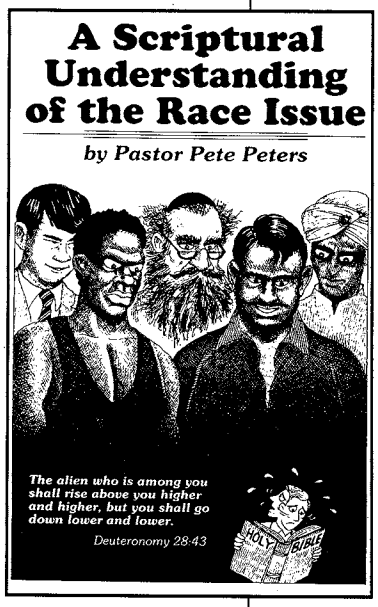
In 1989 Peters was booed off the stage at a Tennessee rally organized by then Aryan Nations leader Louis Beam.[124] By 1993 however, Peters' stature amongst promoters of violence was re-established. Beam was a featured guest speaker at Peters' Bible camps in both 1993 and 1994 while *Vigilantes of Christendom* author Richard Kelly Hoskins spoke at the 1993 event.[125]

Another close associate of Peters who has promoted violence is Charles A. Weisman of Burnsville, Minnesota. Weisman explicitly advocates a program of genocide be enacted against Jewish people in his 1991 book *Who is Esau-Edom?* Weisman writes:

> Why is it no other group, nation or race or people is as worried and concerned about the concept of genocide as the Jews are? It is because in God's Script for the world the Jews are scheduled to be exterminated, and that impending reality is why they are so paranoid about "genocide." It would seem the Jews are fearful of receiving the retribution they know they deserve....
>
> The Jews cry "never again" in reference to the Holocaust story, but the fact is it has not yet happened. This destruction will happen to the Jews and at the hand of Israel, the white race....
>
> ...[T]he white race, will someday kill off the entire house (family line) of Esau, which includes the Edomite Jews.[126]

Peters himself is an open advocate of the murder of his perceived enemies. In addition to his allusion to "throwing off parasites" described above, he has promoted the state sponsored murder of homosexuals. In 1992 Peters wrote a booklet titled *The Death Penalty for Homosexuals is Prescribed in the Bible.* In the booklet, Peters promotes the idea that the Bible demands the execution of gay men and lesbians.[127]

Despite his place as the Identity movement's premier hate monger, Peters has made significant inroads among some conservative Christians. In October 1993 Peters launched a satellite television program, "Truth for the Times," on the Pennsylvania-based Keystone Inspirational Network. While there are no precise statistics on the viewership of the program, the channel has the capacity to reach 14 million viewers. One of Peters' earliest guests was Canadian neo-Nazi and Holocaust denier Ernst Zundel. Peters has also stated on the program that, "There is going to be the death penalty for homosexuals.... It's just a matter of who is going to die and how many."[128]



Response To the Weaver Siege

The stand-off between federal and state law enforcement and Identity believer Randy Weaver was a watershed event for the white supremacist movement and was underway during Scriptures for America's 1992 Bible Camp. Following the siege, a document was released that describes the response of the meeting attendees to the events that had taken place in Northern Idaho:

> Since we had 500 people in attendance from forty states, we immediately set up a phone bank and began contacting the U.S. Attorney General's Office, with callers from forty different states, in an attempt to make the Feds think this had gained national attention.... Also, I [Peters] got in contact with Colonel Bo Gritz while he was enroute to the scene to try to serve as a negotiator and he asked for a letter from me to use in his negotiations with Mr. Weaver....[129]

In a letter which Peters claims to have faxed to Gritz, he makes clear the apocalyptic and violent vision of his movement,

> Col. Bo Gritz and Jack McLamb have been a partial answer to prayers. We recommend that

Keystone Inspirational Network

Truth for The Times

Peters & the Weaver Siege

"...we immediately set up a phone bank and began contacting the U.S. Attorney General's Office with callers from forty states."

The Meeting of Christian Men

American Coalition of Un-Registered Churches

A Battle Plan

Robert E. Lee— A "rebel resisting evil."

Divine Ways & Means Committee— To consider "Biblical Laws that have been violated...Gideon actions, Moses going before Pharaoh, etc."

Greg Dixon

you trust these men and listen to them, so that the prayers of these saints can be completely answered.

We pray that the God of Israel will use your tragic loss for good, and for destruction of the enemies of God and His people....[130]

Two months following the end of the Weaver stand-off, a strategy meeting was called by Peters. He claims that 160 men from thirty states attended the meeting. Peters describes the attendees as follows:

> Men came together who in the past would normally not be caught together under the same roof, who greatly disagree with each other on many theological and philosophical points, whose teachings contradict each other in many ways. Yet, not only did they come together, they worked together for they all agreed that what was done to the Weaver family was wrong and could not and should not be ignored by Christian men. The religious background of these men included Baptist, Church of Christ, Presbyterian, Aryan Nations types, Identity types, ACUC [American Coalition of Un-Registered Churches-ed] types, etc.[131]

The coalition forged between Christian Identity and Christian Right figures during this October meeting shows both the difficulties involved in such ventures and the real possibilities of a lasting alliance. As becomes clear in this example, the core issue for building working relationships such as these is the portrayal of Christians as facing monumental persecution.

The "Special Report on the Meeting of Christian Men" released by Peters following the October meeting portrays the Weaver incident as a case of racial, religious and political persecution orchestrated through a joint government and media conspiracy. The "Special Report" goes so far as to accuse the government of committing genocide against the Weaver family.

The appearance at this meeting of Greg Dixon highlights the issue. At the meeting Dixon spoke on behalf of the American Coalition of Unregistered Churches, an Indianapolis-based group which urges churches to avoid registering with the government. At the meeting, Dixon described his group as designed "to take a stand against wicked government that is trying to destroy our churches and our family."[132]

Dixon lavished praise on Peters, stating "When I meet people like Pete Peters, he restores my faith in preachers...." Dixon went on to say that Confederate General Robert E. Lee "was a rebel, he was resisting evil."[133] Dixon also described three other ACUC members present at the meeting—Jim Lee of Cornville, Arizona, Mike Hoover of Payson, Arizona and Liz Bickey of Sommersett, Pennsylvania.[134]

The report on the event also states that unsuccessful efforts were made to contact Louisiana neo-Nazi David Duke and the Rutherford Institute, an ultra-conservative legal foundation.

While attendees worked together, tensions between different leaders were present as well. As Peters states "a few people felt like Mr. Weaver had a poor reputation as a Christian man and that it was an error to rush to his defense."[135]

A Battle Plan for Future Conflicts

The result of the October 1992 meeting was the development, at least in theory, of a detailed battle plan for dealing with future Weaver-style stand-offs and better coordination for far right anti-government action. As described in the report issued from the meeting, four separate organizing committees and a fifth coordinating committee were formed to aid in mobilizing the various segments of the right drawn to the meeting.

The committees, described below, give the effort an officious appearance, complete with a judiciary for deciding the law and an executive for enforcing it. The commitees formed were as follows:

Divine Ways and Means Committee, formed to

> consider the Biblical Laws that have been violated..., how to tap into that portion of the power of God that is described in Romans 12:19, Courts of the Divine Justice..., Biblical prerequisites to direct action, Gideon actions, Moses going before Pharaoh, etc.[136]

Documenting a Decade of Hate

Legal and Lawful Affairs Committee, formed to

> consider Grand Juries, citizens arrests, counteractions and lawsuits in court, possible counteractions to government legislation and bureaucratic administrative procedures, committees of vigilance, class action suits, treason, applying the R.I.C.O. law, New World Order, naming those who are labeling people White Supremacists and White Separatists and under what authority....[137]

And the Public Works Committee, formed to

> consider what concerned Christian people can be doing individually... petitions, writing officials, contacting media, trips to Washington, D.C., letters to editors, protest marches, rallies, networking, phone trees, prayer, victim support, radio call-ins....[138]

Sacred Warfare And Tactics (SWAT) Committee, formed to

> evaluate what our people would be forced to consider should tyranny and despotism become the order of the day.... Gideon and Ehud type Bible stories, communications, committees of vigilance, future responses, government attempts to provoke confrontations, how to keep from being a victim of agent provocateurs, first aid preparations....[139]

And the General Committee, formed to

> consider any topics plus all the topics involved in the other committees. The General Committee will formulate ideas, thoughts and suggestions to be sent into the other committees to consider.[140]

In the reports to the attendees presented by committee chairmen and representatives from the committees, several things become clear. First, many in the general body viewed the far right movement as developing into what they termed a "Christian Civil Body Politic." As is clear from the discussions at the meeting, this concept, similar in some ways to that of the Posse Comitatus, exalts racist leaders to a quasi-governmental status whereby they claim the authority to issue judgments and enforce them.

In the words of the representative of the Divine Ways and Means Committee,

> The primary goal regarding the carrying out of Yahweh's judgement should be the establishing of a Christian Civil Body Politic which has the authority to punish the evil doer.... The idea was raised then, are we now... a Christian Civil Body Politic....
>
> ...[W]e came to the conclusion that we are in the process of growing into a Christian Civil Body Politic. We're at an immature stage right now, but we're in the process, growing into it, of taking dominion once again.... And the connection here is that when the Body is mature enough, we will be ready to punish all disobedience.[141]

The delegate from the committee further spelled out the steps necessary before violence would be used:

> First, the people petition the government with specific grievances. Second, if the grievances are not redressed, the oppressive government is charged with breaking their own contract with the people and with violations of God's Laws. In this step, court actions may be taken, although not necessarily required. The third step is to take proper Biblical Actions along the lines outlined in the section on the Sacred Warfare and Tactics Committee.[142]

As becomes clear below, step three involves the use of so-called Leaderless Resistance as promoted by veteran neo-Nazi Louis Beam.

Reporting in the absence of the chair, a delegate from the Sacred Warfare And Tactics Committee stated,

> The SWAT committee, for obvious reasons, is a touchy one. ...We started this, of course with the premise, the knowledge, that whatever we came up with we wanted to be able to get it published and in a way that right off the top of the list they don't come down with conspiracy charges on the whole bunch of us....
>
> And, with a bunch of young bulls... they came with the thought in their heads that we were going to have, perhaps, a standard operating procedure, an S.O.P. as it were.... To do that would, of course, put us right back into the very fear we had at the beginning. Everyone of you needs to be a qualified, trained man. That's a foregone, but you don't put it in an S.O.P. in which you can read how you go about it....[143]

The SWAT delegate then described the means to be used to advance the cause, stating,

> We pointed out that for our purposes we have to have Leaderless Resistance within the con-

Legal & Lawful Affiars Committee— To consider "Grand Juries, citizens arrests, counteractions and lawsuits in court,...treason, New World Order..."

Sacred Warfare & Tactics (SWAT) Committee— To consider "with a bunch of young bulls...we have Leaderless Resistance within the confines of our directives..."

Christian Civil Body Politic

Biblical Action

The Northwest Imperative:

Northwest Leaders With Ties to Peters—

Mark Reynolds

Harry Schmidt

Bob Hollstrom

"Red" Beckman

Carl Klang "Watch Out For Martial Law"

Chris Temple

R.E. McMaster— A writer for the Chalcedon Institute, a reconstructionist think tank

Richard Butler

Gene Heck

Don & June Hoecher of Colville, Washington

Tom Stetson— Militia organizer from Idaho with the Concerned Citizens of Idaho.

> fines of our directives given to us in the word of God.... We predicated our entire system on Leaderless Resistance, everything we are going to talk about is based on that concept....[144]

Numerous Northwest leaders in the racist movement have attended and spoken at events sponsored by Peters. Among the regional leaders linked to Peters are:

• Mark Reynolds—the Colville, Washington head of Judah's Praise Ministries who reportedly provided entertainment for the 1991 Rocky Mountain Bible Camp.[145]

• Harry Schmidt—the neo-Nazi state chair of the Populist Party of Washington State who attended Peters' 1993 Bible Camp.[146]

• Bob Hollstrom—Spoke at Peters' 1994 conference. Hollstrom was one pastor, together with Oregon Identity leader Ben Williams, who played a role in the America's Promise leadership struggle following the 1985 death of Sheldon Emry.[147]

• Dave Barley—head of America's Promise Ministries in Sandpoint, Idaho. Featured speaker at Peters' 1994 Conference, his first appearance at such an event.[148]

• Martin J. "Red" Beckman—Montana Posse Comitatus figure and anti-Semite. Spoke at Peters' conferences in 1993 and 1994. Beckman was also in attendance at the October 1992 "Meeting of Christian Men."[149]

• Carl Klang—A Colton, Oregon musician whose songs such as "The Federal Reserve Isn't Federal Anymore" and "Why the Banksters Keep Us Dumb" play on themes common to the Christian Patriot and Christian Identity movements. Klang played music at the 1994 Scriptures for America camp.[150]

• Keith Roberts—Montana Identity figure who spoke at Peters' 1994 conference.[151]

• R.E. McMaster—Regular writer for the Chalcedon Institute, a Reconstructionist think tank headed by R.J. Rushdoony. Speaker at 1993 and 1994 Peters conferences. Listed as Montana-based in 1994.[152]

• Randy Grimes—head of the Randle, Washington-based book distributorship BOHICA Concepts. Grimes sold books and was a featured speaker at the 1993 Peters conference.[153]

• Chris Temple—Polson, Montana Identity figure and former New York state Moral Majority activist who spoke at the 1993 Peters camp and the October 1992 Meeting of Christian men called by Peters.[154]

• Richard Butler—head of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian—Aryan Nations in Hayden Lake, Idaho and a speaker at the October 1992 Peters meeting in Colorado Springs, Colorado.[155]

• Del Knudsen—a close associate of Mark Reynolds and a speaker at the October 1992 meeting called by Peters.[156]

• Gene Heck—Idaho speaker at the 1993 and 1994 Peters camps. Heck specializes in the mundane nuances of Identity debate on the correct day and proper way to celebrate the Sabbath.[157]

• Don and June Hoecher—Colville, Washington Identity figures and Populist Party activists responsible for a 1989 visit by Peters to Colville, Washington and placing Peters' Scriptures for America on KCVL AM (this was replaced in 1994 by Mark Reynold's "The Love of Truth"). Don and June's son Tim is also active in the Christian Identity movement and the Populist Party.[158]

• Frank Isabell—Speaker at October 1992 Peters meeting in Colorado and 1993 Kalispell Bible conference. Isabell is a promoter of Christian Patriot legal theories and is listed as an Idaho resident in Scriptures for America material from the 1993 conference.[159]

• Tom Stetson—activist in the Hayden Lake, Idaho Concerned Citizens of Idaho headed by Eva Vail Lamb and the Blackfoot, Idaho United States Militia Association of Samuel Sherwood. Stetson was a speaker at the October 1992 Peters meeting.[160]

Scriptures for America's 10th anniversary Rocky Mountain Family Bible Camp held in Kalispell, Montana in June of 1994 featured an all-star line-up of nationally recognized leaders including Bob Hollstrom, from Idaho, Pastor Dave Barley from America's Promise Ministries, Cy Minett, 1992 Populist Party Vice-Presidential candidate , R.E. McMaster, editor of *The Reaper*, "Red" Beckman and Willis Carto, publisher of the anti-Semitic weekly, *The Spotlight*. Carl Klang, of Colton, Oregon one was of many musical guests.

Chapter 3

Endnotes

Notes for Pages 3.5 - 3.15

Christian Identity Theology

End Times

Millennialism

Northwest History

British Israelism

American Christian Ministries

America's Promise Ministries

1 In North America post-millenial eschatology is most common in Christian Reconstructionism, an extreme segment of the Christian Right. Reconstructionists such as R.J. Rushdooney and Gary North have played a strong role in moving the Fundamentalist community, most of which is not Reconstructionist, to engage in political activity. There are many parallels between Reconstructionism and Christian Identity and a number of individuals and organizations who draw from both traditions.

2 Karl Schott,*The Pathfinder* (June 1985), p.1.

3 Ray C. Barker, "The Viper Connection" audio tape (Christian Israel Covenant Church, undated [circa 1991]). Tapes available from Christian Israel Covenant Church, 14405 Peacock Hill Ave. Northwest, Gig Harbor, Washington 98335.

4 Michael Barkun, *Religion and the Racist Right: The Origins of the Christian Identity Movement* (Chapel Hill & London: University of North Carolina Press, 1994). p.19, (hereafter *Religion and the Racist Right*).

5 Ibid, p.22.

6 Albert Lee, *Henry Ford and the Jews* (New York: Stein & Day, 1980), p.19.

7 Leonard Zeskind, *The "Christian Identity" Movement: Analyzing Its Theological Rationalization for Racist and Anti-Semitic Violence* (Atlanta: Center for Democratic Renewal, 1987), p.14, (hereafter *Christian Identity Movement*).

8 *Christian Identity Movement*, p.14.

9 Ibid.

10 Patsy Sims, *The Klan* (New York: Stein & Day, 1978), p.62.

11 Christian Identity Movement, p.14.

12 *Religion and the Racist Right*, p.21.

13 *Christian Identity Movement*, pp.9–11.

14 Ibid.

15 Ben Williams and Paul Bunch, "Jesus Is Not a Missing Person and He Isn't the Wimp of the Churches!" *The American Christian* (September 1991), p. 2, published by American Christian Ministries, P.O. Box 8430, Medford, Oregon 97504.

16 Francis Christen, "The 'Millenium': When Will it Come?"*The American Christian* (September 1991), p. 7.

17 Paul Bunch, "Pining Away for Utopia: The Great Diversion of the Churches," *The American Christian* (October/November 1991), p.10.

18 Ibid.

19 Ben Williams and Paul Bunch, "Jesus Is Not a Missing Person and He Isn't the Wimp of the Churches!" *The American Christian* (September 1991), p.6.

20 Ben Williams, "What Is the Ecclesia? Is It a Church? Is It a Cult? Is It Important?" (Part 2)*The American Christian* (June/July 1991), p.3.

21 Ibid, p.7.

22 Ibid, p.3–5.

23 Sheldon Emry, *Billions for the Bankers, Debts for the People* (P.O. Box 30000 Phoenix, Arizona 85046: Lord's Covenant Church, 1984). James Corcoran, *Bitter Harvest: Gordon Kahl and the Posse Comitatus*; (New York: Penguin, 1990), p. 30-31.

24 *Christian Identity Movement.* p. 44, emphasis in original.

25 *Christian Identity Movement*, p.10.

26 *Religion and the Racist Right*, p.144.

27 Spokane *Spokesman Review* April 14, 1991.

28 Dave Barley, "Sandpoint's New Ministry Guilty of Nothing But Beliefs, Pastor Says," *America's Promise Newsletter* (April/June 1991), p.7. America's Promise Ministries, P.O. Box 157, Sandpoint, Idaho 83864.

29 Dave Barley, "Love, Hate, and Tyranny!"*America's Promise Newsletter* (March/April 1994), p.14, emphasis in original.

30 Dave Barley, "Coming Out of Babylon," *America's Promise Newsletter* (July 1991), p.2-8.

31 Alan Campbell, "The Kingdom, When?"(Sandpoint Idaho: America's Promise Ministries, circa 1992), audio tape.

32 Dave Barley, "South Africa—Nowhere to Turn but Unto God!" *America's Promise Newsletter* (June 1994), pp. 7-8, emphasis in original.

33 Eyewitness account of John Weaver's lecture at the "1st Annual Great Northwest Conference," sponsored by America's Promise Ministries, held in Spokane, Washington, July 26–28, 1991, (hereafter "1st Annual Northwest Conference").

34 America's Promise literature list distributed at the "1st Annual Northwest Conference."

35 Flyer titled "Only Israel Has the Word," (P.O. Box 997, Lynchburg, Virginia 24505: Virginia Publishing Company), distributed by Richard Kelly Hoskins at the "1st Annual Northwest Conference."

Notes for Pages 3.15 - 3.23

Christian Israel Covenant Church

Christs Gospel Fellowship

The *Jubilee*

Judah's Praise Ministries

Kingdom Covenant College

36 BOHICA Concepts book catalogue, (circa July 1991). Grimes distributes such titles as *Vigilantes of Christendom, Essays of a Klansman* by Louis Beam, William Pierce's *Turner Diaries* and *Hunter* in addition to "practical" books on such topics as *How to Make Disposable Silencers* (volumes I and II), an army field manual on "Explosives and Demolitions" and a book titled *Improvised Land Mines: Their Employment and Destructive Capabilities.* among other charming titles.

37 Spokane *Spokesman Review*, April 14, 1991.

38 Eyewitness account, "1st Annual Great Northwest Conference."

39 Dave Barley, "A Primer on Revolution," *America's Promise Newsletter* (January 1994), p.7.

40 Eyewitness account, "3rd Annual Great Northwest Conference," sponsored by America's Promise Ministries, held in Sandpoint, Idaho on July 22–24, 1994, (hereafter "3rd Annual Northwest Conference").

41 Eyewitness account, "3rd Annual Northwest Conference."

42 America's Promise Ministries, form letter titled "A Special Announcement to Our Friends and Supporters," (Sandpoint, Idaho: America's Promise Ministries, undated, [circa December 1991]), p. 2. The letter announces the initiation of America's Promise satellite programming airing on Spacenet One, beginning February 8, 1992.

43 Dave Barley, "From the Pastor's Desk," *America's Promise Newsletter* (September/October 1993), p. i.

44 Ray C. Barker, "The Viper Connection" (14405 Peacock Hill Ave. Northwest, Gig Harbor, Washington 98335: Christian Israel Covenant Church, undated [Circa 1991]), audio tape.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid.

47 Ibid.

48 Eyewitness account, speech by National Populist Party chair Don Wassal sponsored by the Populist Party of Washington State, February 15, 1992 in Auburn, Washington.

49 Karl Schott, "The Christian and Government," *The Pathfinder* (November 1986), p.1. Christ's Gospel Fellowship, Inc. 728 E. Rich, P.O. Box 291 Spokane, Washington 99210.

50 Ibid.

51 Eyewitness report, "Christ's Gospel Fellowship Church annual Bible Conference," held May 31–June 2, 1991 in Spokane, Washington, (hereafter CGFC Conference).

52 Karl Schott, "The Christian and Government," *The Pathfinder* (November 1986), p. 2.

53 Karl Schott, *The Pathfinder* (September 1992), p.2.

54 Karl Schott, *The Pathfinder* (February 1986).

55 Eyewitness account, 1991 CGFC Conference.

56 Christ's Gospel Fellowship, "Literature List," *The Pathfinder* (February 1992).

57 Eyewitness account, 1991 CGFC Conference.

58 The advertisement was 1/3 page in size and was printed in the December 28, 1992—January 4, 1993 issue of U.S.. *News and World Report* under the title, "Is America Mentioned in Bible Prophecy?." The opening paragraph reads, "Is it possible that, re-gathered here in the United States of America, we have a representative number of all of the 12 Tribes of Israel? If this is so, could it also be possible that these 12 Tribes of Israel are the people which comprise the Anglo-Saxon, Celtic, Germanic, Irish, Scottish, French, Dutch, Scandinavian and kindred people?"

59 *The Pathfinder*, (June 1992).

60 Eyewitness account.

61 Paul Hall, "The Way I See It: You Can't Win if You Don't Play," *The Jubilee*, vol. 6, no. 2 (September/October 1993) p.2.

62 Ibid.

63 Tom Blair, "News Perspective: Where We Fail and Succeed," *The Jubilee*, vol. 6, no. 1 (July/August 1993), p.3.

64 Tom Blair, "News Perspective," *The Jubilee*, vol. 5, no. 6 (May/June 1993), p.3.

65 Eyewitness account, "3rd Annual Jubilation Celebration" held at the Red Lion Inn in Bakersfield, California August 26-28, 1994.

66 *Bakersfield Californian*, August 24, 1994.

67 *Las Vegas Sun,* August 26, 1994.

68 Ibid.

69 *Bakersfield Californian* August 25, 1994.

70 Mark Reynolds, *I Will Follow Thee* (883 Basin Road, Colville, Washington 99114: Judah's Praise, 1992), audio cassette.

71 Ibid.

72 Judah's Praise, letter to supporters (Colville, Washington: Judah's Praise Ministries, July 1992).

73 Mark Reynolds, phone interview with Coalition for Human Dignity, (September 27, 1994).

74 Ibid.

75 Mark Reynolds, phone interview with Coalition for Human Dignity, (September 28, 1994).

76 Ibid.

77 Mark Reynolds, Letter to the Editor, Colville *Statesmen Examiner,* (June 24, 1992).

78 A Judah's Praise advertisement printed in the May/June 1992 issue of the *Jubilee* for the band's tape *I Will Follow Thee* claims that the tape has material "Included from1991 Rocky Mountain Bible Retreat."

79 Eyewitness account.

80 Mark Reynolds, *I Will Follow Thee* (883 Basin Road, Colville, Washington 99114: Judah's Praise, 1992), audio cassette.

81 Mark Reynolds, phone interview with Coalition for Human Dignity, (September 27, 1994).

82 Kingdom Covenant College, *The Centinel*, no.21 (undated, circa July 1991), P.O. Box 5111, Grants Pass, Oregon 97527. Bulla is a former singer in the family musical group "Watchmen," popular on the Identity bible camp circuit in the mid to late 1980s. According to issue Twenty-one of *The Centinel*, the monthly newsletter of

Kingdom Covenant College, he has also been a teacher at the college.

83 Rhonda Faith Allen, *The Centinel*, no. 29 (circa 1992), p.2.

84 Pete Peters, *Scriptures for America*, vol. 5 (1988).

85 Mike Watson, "Unity With Diversity" audio tape (Sandpoint, Idaho: America's Promise Ministries, Tape no. 1138.

86 Ibid, emphasis added.

87 Ibid.

88 Eyewitness report of Mike Watson's lecture at the "Christ's Gospel Fellowship Church Annual Bible Conference," held May 31–June 2, 1991 in Spokane, Washington.

89 Mark Black, *The Centinel*, no. 23 (circa September 1992), p.1.

90 Ibid.

91 Ibid.

92 Scriptures for America, "Psalm 91 for 1991: Scriptures for America's 1991 Rocky Mountain Family Bible Retreat Report," (LaPorte, Colorado: Scriptures for America, 1991), p.A. Barton is pictured in a photo spread on p. F along side other featured speakers such as racist murder advocate Richard Kelly Hoskins and Christian Patriot paramilitary organizer James "Bo" Gritz.

93 *The Centinel*, no. 21 (circa 1991); *The Centinel* no. 28 (circa 1992).

94 *Scriptures for America* (August 1986); *Scriptures for America* (July/August 1987); *Scriptures for America* , vol. 4 (1989).

95 Eyewitness accounts.

96 Kingdom Covenant College, *The Centinel*, no. 21 (circa July 1991).

97 Rosalie Slater, *Teaching and Learning America's Christian History*, (San Francisco: Foundation for American Christian Education, 1969), p.89.

98 Mike Watson,*The Centinel,* no. 31 (circa 1992), p. 3.

99 Colville *Statesman Examiner* May 20, 1992. The Byrds, together with about a dozen Marble Flats Community Fellowship residents, appeared before the Northport city council on May 13, 1992 and attempted to plead a case for the benevolence of their "Christian Covenant Community."

100 Ibid.

101 See especially Letter to the Editor from Jeff Keyes, dated May 6, 1992; April 22, 1992 Letter by Julie Jordan and Dennis Sweeney, and a Letter to the Editor from Mark A. Huddleston dated May 13, 1992; see also the Spokane *Spokesman Review*, June 2, 1992.

102 Colville *Statesman Examiner*, May 20, 1992.

103 Eyewitness report, "Northwest Freedom Rally" held March 21-23, 1986 in Richland, Washington. Toni Parisi, the self-proclaimed "commander" of the Benton County Posse Comitatus was a key organizer and speaker. Other featured attendees included tax-protester Peggy Christiansen from Montana, *National Educator* correspondent Bruce McCarthy, Ajay and Anita Lowery of the *Justice Times*, and Robert Wangrud and Randy Geisler of Republic v. Democracy Redress based in Oregon City, Oregon. A local group, the Tri-City Citizens for Constitutional Government, and the *Justice Times* officially sponsored the gathering.

104 Colville *Statesman Examiner*, May 20, 1992.

105 Remnant Resolves Committee, *Remnant Resolves*, (P.O. Box 766 LaPorte, Colorado 80535, undated [circa November 1988]), no page numbers. The full resolve dealing with the "anti-Christ" reads: "*'He is antichrist that denieth the Father and the Son.'* It is blasphemous to regard antichrists as 'God's chosen people' and to allow them to rule over or hold public office in a Christian Nation. Christians have a duty to promote and uphold Godly Principles as revealed in His Law, Statutes and Judgments and a corresponding duty to oppose antichrists. *'Shouldest thou help the ungodly, and love them that hate the LORD? Therefore is wrath upon thee from before the LORD.'*" The resolve dealing with "inter-racial marriage" reads in full, "Aborticide is murder. Sodomy is a sin against God and Nature. Inter-racial marriage pollutes the integrity of the family. Pornography destroys the purity of the mind of the individual and defiles the conscience of the Nation."

106 Pete Peters, "Remant Resolves,"*Scriptures for America Newsletter*, vol. 5 (1988).

107 Ibid. The photo features the members of the committee that drafted the *Resolves*, including Barry Byrd and Brad Bulla. The document was signed by all of the committee members and dated, "23rd Day of July, in the Year of Our Lord, 1988 at the Scriptures for America, Rocky Mountain Family Bible Camp, Cedaredge, Colorado."

108 Ibid.

109 Watchman, "Watchman's Schedule for July," *The Watchman* (July 1989), p.3.

110 *San Francisco Examiner* February 10, 1984. As defined by Sara Diamond in *Spiritual Warfare*, her seminal study of the Christian Right, shepherding is "an organizational structure and set of authority relations practiced by much of the 'charismatic' movement, both Protestant and Catholic. Major features include a theological justification for secrecy and required obedience within hierarchical chains of command" (*Spiritual Warfare: The Politics of the Christian Right* [Boston: South End Press, 1989]).

111 Marble Community Fellowship, flyer titled "Christian Covenant Community—The Last Frontier," (circa 1992), lists Peacocke and David Davidson as Counsel.

112 Ibid.

113 Ibid.

114 Ibid.

115 Dave Parkhurst, letter dated June 11, 1994, (P.O. Box 88441, Steilacoom, Washington 98388: Christian Fellowship Ministries, June 11, 1994).

116 Eyewitness report, "Olympia Kingdom Conference," held at the Olympia Christian Fellowship Church,

Notes for Pages 3.24 - 3.30

Remnant Resolves

Marble Community Fellowship

Olympia Christian Fellowship/ Christian Fellowship Ministries

Scriptures for America—Pete Peters

Notes for Pages 3.30 - 3.32

Scriptures for America (Cont.).

1431 E. Legion Way, Olympia, Washington 98501, June 29–30, 1991.

117 Eyewitness report of the 1991 Bible conference held May 31, 1991—June 2, 1991 in Spokane, Washington at Christ's Gospel Fellowship Church, and eyewitness report of the "1st Annual Great Northwest Conference" held July 1991 at the Holiday Inn in Spokane, Washington; sponsored by America's Promise.

118 *Christian Identity Movement.*

119 Peters claims in a letter to Scriptures for America supporters that the two projects cost $145,000 and give him the capacity to reach millions of viewers and listeners ("Personal Message From Pastor Pete Peters Concerning the Shortwave Radio Station," undated, [circa Dec. 1993]).

120 Pete Peters,*Scriptures for America*, (undated, circa 1987), p.26.

121 Remnant Resolves Committee, *Remnant Resolves*, (P.O. Box 766 LaPorte, Colorado 80535: Scriptures for America, undated [circa November 1988]).

122 Ibid.

123 Ibid. Other signers to the document included, Michael P. Green, William K. McAlister, Louis E. Hughes, Roger C. Stephens, DVM, and Howard L. Freeman. The document was signed by all of the committee members and dated, "23rd Day of July, in the Year of Our Lord, 1988 at the Scriptures for America, Rocky Mountain Family Bible Camp, Cedaredge, Colorado."

124 Leonard Zeskind, "And Now, The Hate Show," *New York Times*, November 16, 1993.

125 Scriptures for America, "10th Anniversary 1994 Rocky Mountain Family Bible Camp Audio and Video Tape List," (1994).

126 Charles A. Weisman, *Who is Esau-Edom?* (Burnsville, Minnesota: Weisman Publications, 1991), pp.117–119.

127 Pete Peters, *Intolerance of, Discrimination Against and the Death Penalty for Homosexuals is Prescribed in the Bible*, (LaPorte, Colorado: Scriptures for America, 1992).

128 *New York Times*, November 16, 1993.

129 Pete Peters, "Special Report on the Meeting of Christian Men Held in Estes Park, Colorado October 23, 24, 25, 1992 During the Killing of Vickie and Samuel Weaver By the United States Government" (LaPorte, Colorado: Scriptures for America, undated [circa November 1992]), p.2, (hereafter, "Special Report").

130 Ibid, p.3.

131 Ibid, p. 4. Peters distributes audio tapes of speeches given by attendees including anti-Semite Red Beckman of Billings, Montana, movement attorney Kirk Lyons of North Carolina, Chris Temple of Noxon, Montana, Louis Beam, Greg Dixon of the ACUC in Indianapolis, Tom Stetson (currently of the Concerned Citizens of Idaho), Larry Pratt of Gun Owners of America, Aryan Nations leader Richard Butler of Hayden Lake, Christian Patriot Frank Isabell, New Mexico Identity figure Earl Jones and eastern Washington Identity figure Del Knudsen, Charles Weisman of Minnesota and Reily Donica of Oklahoma. Other presenters included John Nelson of Colorado, Doug Pue of Arizona, Doug Evers of Wisconsin, and S.A. Freeman of *The Citizens Claw* and New Nation USA (NNUSA).

132 Greg Dixon, lecture at "Rocky Mountain Rendezvous," (LaPorte, Colorado: Scriptures for America, 1992), tape RMRO6.

133 Ibid.

134 Ibid.

135 "Special Report," p.24.

136 Ibid, p.8.

137 Ibid.

138 Ibid.

139 Ibid.

140 Ibid.

141 Committee Reports, "Rocky Mountain Rendezvous," (LaPorte, Colorado: Scriptures for America, 1992), tape RMRO6.

142 Ibid.

143 Ibid.

144 Ibid.

145 An advertisement in the *Jubilee* (May/June 1992) for Reynold's tape *I Will Follow Thee*, claims that the tape has material "Included from 1991 Rocky Mountain Bible Retreat."

146 Randy Grimes, "What They Don't Want You to Know," (Laporte, Colorado: Scriptures for America) audio tape from Peters 1993 Conference.

147 Scriptures for America, flyer for "1994 Scriptures for America: 10th Anniversary Rocky Mountain Family Bible Camp" (1994).

148 Ibid.

149 Ibid; "Special Report."

150 Scriptures for America, flyer for "1994 Scriptures for America: 10th Anniversary Rocky Mountain Family Bible Camp." Klang's tape cassette, *Watch for Martial Law* is extremely popular among Christian Patriots.

151 Ibid.

152 Ibid.

153 Randy Grimes, "What They Don't Want You to Know," (Laporte, Colorado: Scriptures for America) audio tape from Peters 1993 Conference.

154 "Special Report."

155 Ibid, tape RMRO6.

156 Ibid.

157 Scriptures for America, "10th Anniversary 1994 Rocky Mountain Family Bible Camp Audio and Video Tape List" promotional flyer (1994); *The Weekly Sabbath*, Gene Heck tape from Scriptures for America1993 Bible Conference.

158 Eyewitness account of Tim's presence at the June 27, 1992 Populist Party of Washington Ballot Access Convention held in Vaughn, Washington.

159 Recorded Messages.

160 Ibid.

Appendix A

Lexicon & Usage Guide

This Lexicon and Usage Guide is provided as a service to readers who may not be entirely familiar with the esoteric jargon of the white supremacist movement and to provide consistent definitions of key concepts used in this work.

Anti-Semitism — dislike, hatred, prejudice, discrimination or persecution directed against people of Jewish descent or of the Jewish faith. Within the white supremacist movement, Jews are typically considered to be the ultimate enemy engaged in a conspiracy to destroy the white race.

Aryan —a term derived from mythology and used within the white supremacist movement to refer to people and cultures of northern Europe.

Aryan Nations —a specific neo-Nazi organization that is the political arm of the Hayden Lake, Idaho Church of Jesus Christ Christian, a notorious Christian Identity church led by "pastor" Richard Butler. The group attempts to bridge the gap between Identity and neo-Nazi ideas. Within the white supremacist movement "Aryan Nation" is used idiosyncratically as a term for northern European nation-states as they ought to be according to the ideals of the movement. Do not use "Aryan Nations" as a synonym for the white supremacist movement as a whole.

Bigotry — intolerance of any creed, belief or race that is not one's own.

Biological Determinism — the idea that "race" is a biological category subject to scientific measurement and evaluation and that biological factors determine cultural, social and economic circumstances. (See Eugenics).

Blood Libel —the accusation, most often made of Jews, that ritualistic human sacrifice is practiced by the group; the ritual is alleged to involve the use of blood obtained from such sacrifices for ritual purposes. Historically Christian children were said to be the victims of the sacrificial practice.

British Israelism — although there are various strands of British Israelism, the main body of thought contends that the Tribes of Israel, through a series of centuries-long migrations, established themselves in northern Europe before the Christian era. The notion is taken from Biblical accounts in which the northern half of ancient Israel, ten of the twelve tribes descended from Jacob, were conquered and the ten tribes "lost."

As descendants of Northern Europeans, followers believe that they are true "Israelites" and therefore God's chosen people. British Israel interpretations of the Bible use racial rather than religious categories to distinguish "Gods

chosen people." It relies on an idiosyncratic reading of the Bible, Biblical history, archeology, etc.
(Leonard Zeskind, The "Christian *Identity*" *Movement* [Atlanta: Center for Democratic Renewal], p. 16).

Brüder Schweigen — a German term meaning Silent Brotherhood, the name chosen by Robert Mathews for his terrorist cell. See Order, The.

Christian Covenant Community — within this manual, one of the central Idaho subdivisions planned by far right leader James "Bo" Gritz as self-contained retreats for Christian Patriots and other movement activists.

Christian Identity — a theo-political movement derived from British Israelism. Adherents believe that white Anglo-Saxons are God's chosen people, people of color are a sub-species of humans and Jews are children of Satan. Christian Identity provides a theological justification for racist violence. The term is used interchangeably with Identity or Kingdom Identity.

Christian Patriot —a term of self-reference for a broad spectrum of the Far Right. Christian Patriots constitute the largest portion of the white supremacist movement in contemporary America. Christian Patriots generally hold to a literal interpretation of both the Bible and the Constitution, but unlike most Christian fundamentalists, they also believe in a monolithic conspiracy (sometimes centuries old) directed against white Christians. For most Patriots, Jews are ultimately behind this conspiracy, although they may work through a variety of front organizations such as the United Nations, the Trilateral Commission, the Bilderburgers, etc. Patriot organizations define two types of citizens, "white state citizens" who derive their rights from God and the Constitution and "14th Amendment citizens," meaning people of color, whose rights have been legislated into existence and can easily be taken away. Many Patriots are involved in tax protest and often use illegal or quasi-legal means to avoid being monitored by the IRS.

Christian Reconstructionism — a variant of "kingdom" or "dominion" theology that calls for the gradual theocratization of secular society. Reconstructionists are "post-millenial" and rely heavily on the edicts of the old Testament as moral laws applicable to contemporary problems. Specifically, many Reconstructionists seek to implement and enforce the Old Testament codes of: capital punishment of homosexuality, adultery and abortion; a ban on long-term debt; a return to a gold standard economy; the abolition of income tax; and the destruction of the government social welfare system.
(Sara Diamond, *Spiritual Warfare: The Politics of the Christian Right*, [Boston: South End Press, 1989], hereafter *Spiritual Warfare*).

Christian Right — often used (incorrectly) interchangeably with New Right. Denotes that sector of the American right-wing that came to prominence during the mid-70s and 1980s, with its ideological roots and constituency in fundamentalist and evangelical Christian movements. It is primarily conservative or ultra-conservative and authoritarian, rather than revolutionary, in outlook. May also be used to denote those sectors that are Reconstructionist or "theonomist." The Christian Right is a subset of the New Right. (*When Hate Groups Come to Town*, [Center for Democratic Renewal, 1992], hereafter *When Hate Groups Come to Town*).

Citizenship, Constitutional — see Citizenship, State.

Citizenship, State — for Christian Patriots, white people are "state citizens" who derive their inalienable rights from God and the Constitution.

Citizenship, 14th Amendment — in Christian Patriot circles "14th Amendment citizen" is used as a euphemism for people of color, the implication is that their citizenship and rights thereunder are "alienable" and therefore inferior to white state citizens'.

Conspiracy, The — for white supremacists of all stripes there exists a monolithic conspiracy, often going "back to the Garden of Eden," to systematically destroy white Christian civili-

zation. Often this is implicitly formulated as a "Jewish Conspiracy." In neo-Nazi circles the pretense is dropped and *The Conspiracy* is explicitly Jewish.

Conspiracy Theory — as used in this manual, a conspiracy theory is the formulation of undocumented accusations linking various groups and individuals in one or more schemes to commit crimes or other misdeeds. Many conspiracy theories rely on good factual evidence, but at key points in the "case" there is a required "leap of faith" to reach the conclusion the author suggests. Not all conspiracy theories are bigoted, but since the usual reason for formulating such a theory is to find some individual or group to blame, the usual result is scapegoating. Most conspiracy theories have to do with events or situations of limited scope—the Kennedy assassination for example—but in Christian Patriot circles, history itself is viewed as a conspiracy.

Constitutionalist — see Christian Patriot.

Cult—tightly structured organization in which rigid belief systems, difficult physical regimens and abdication of personal decision-making powers to leaders often leave members feeling psychologically abused (*Spiritual Warfare*).

Cultural Determinism — the belief that cultural circumstances, upbringing, social position, education and so on determine a person's value, intelligence, talent etc. Usually counterposed as a relatively benign alternative to Biological Determinism, cultural determinism is still an over-simplified way of viewing human potential that is often invoked to rate the relative value of ideas and products coming from different social strata, which are ironically often divided by race.

Cultural Elites—in Christian Right and Christian Patriot circles, those who control the production of cultural forms such as movies, television, books, music, etc. The term is sometimes used as a euphemism for Jews.

Edom/Edomites—a Christian Identity euphemism for Jews that is meant to suggest that they are not descendents of Jacob (Israel), but of his brother Esau, known as Edom because of his red hair.

Eugenics—a term coined by F. Galton in 1883 to refer to the improvement of the human race by the use of a genetic policy based on the principles of heredity. As a social movement, it was influential in the United States between 1890 and 1920, where it was associated with Social Darwinism. Eeugenics was used to give expression to anxieties about the consequences for American culture as the result of a sustained policy of immigration (Nicholas Abercrombie, Stephen Hill and Bryan S. Turner, *Dictionary of Sociology*, [Penguin Books, 1984]).

German eugenicists used the term "racial hygiene," developing journals and societies, (Alfred Ploetz) at the turn of the century to further the cause of human racial improvement. While the main concern of eugenicists prior to 1920's was the declining birthrate and the growing numbers of mentally ill in institutions, it laid the foundations for what would become a system of Nazi racial science (Robert N. Proctor, *Racial Hygiene* [Harvard University Press, 1988]).

The eugenics movement survives as a pseudo-science and an encapsulated social movement that asserts that some races are healthier than others, and that other "non-eugenic races" such as people of color and Jews, should be forced to curtail their population growth.

Eschatology — the "science" or set of beliefs having to do with the "end times," in Christian theology.

Evangelical—the term refers broadly to Christians who actively seek to proselytize and convert others. Evangelicals can be fundamentalist or non-fundamentalist, charismatic or non-charismatic and of a variety of political perspectives (*Spiritual Warfare*).

Far right — used as an umbrella term that describes extremist or ultra-conservative elements further to the right than the New Right. These elements are dominated by various conspiracy theories mixed with anti-communism

and anti-elite or right-wing populist agendas. Includes the white supremacist movement as well (*When Hate Groups Come to Town*).

Fascism/Fascist — used to describe an organization, individual or ideology that resembles that of the historic fascist movements of the World War II period, i.e Italian, Spanish, Bulgarian, Japanese.

Federal Reserve Note (FRN or "Fern") — currency issued by Federal Reserve Banks (U.S paper money); a Christian Patriot term for US paper money (dollars), meant to denote the "private" and therefore usurious nature of the Federal Reserve Bank.

Freeman — see Christian Patriot.

Fundamentalism/Fundamentalist — a literal interpretation of the Bible and the application of a literal reading to all mundane matters. Fundamentalists can belong to a variety of denominations. They are usually highly concerned with the "moral" state of individuals and society (*Spiritual Warfare*).

Globalism/Globalists — the idea, prominent within Christian Patriot circles, that powerful interests ("globalists") seek to undermine the sovereignty of the United States through such international associations as the United Nations, economic structures such as the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT), political organizations such as the Trilateral Commission, and financial groupings such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The growing global interdependency of economic and political formations is counterposed with a desire for a renewed isolationist nationalism.

Hate Crime — the United States Department of Justice Uniform Crime Report defines hate crimes as, "...crimes that manifest evidence of prejudice based on race, religion, sexual orientation, or ethnicity, including where appropriate the crimes of murder, non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, aggravated assault, simple assault, intimidation, arson; and destruction, damage or vandalism of property." Apart from federal legislation, 46 states (including Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana) as well as the District of Columbia have passed hate crime laws. Also referred to as "bias crime," "ethnic intimidation" or "malicious harassment" laws.

Historical Revisionism — reinterpretation of historical events; a term used by Holocaust deniers in an attempt to give some semblance of respectability to their work. See Holocaust Denial.

Holocaust, The — the genocidal, systematic and planned execution of over six million Jews in Europe under the Nazi regime in Germany. The term was coined specifically to refer to the this aspect of Nazi mass murder, distinct from Nazi persecution and extermination of the physically and mentally handicapped, political opposition, gypsies, homosexuals and others who suffered under the Third Reich.

Holocaust Denial — attempts to deny the Holocaust as an historical event, and in so doing to suggest that the so-called myth of the Holocaust is part of a larger Jewish conspiracy. Holocaust denial is a marketing tool used by neo-Nazis throughout Europe and the United States to minimize the atrocities committed under National Socialism, and most often appears under the guise of academic scholarship. Holocaust denial in the United States is the mainstay of the Institute for Historical Review.

Israelism/Israelite — see British Isrealism and Christian Identity.

Kingdom — God's government either as established by his chosen people before the second coming of Christ or established by Christ upon his coming. Also used to refer to the Eternal Kingdom of God.

Ku Klux Klan, Klan — the terms are used interchangeably and always capitalized. Often abbreviated **KKK**, though *Klan* is the preferred term. The terms should refer specifically to a member of an organized faction of the Ku Klux Klan. Where appropriate, the specific Klan faction should be used, such as the Northwest Knights of the Ku Klux Klan or Invisible Em-

Documenting a Decade of Hate

pire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Use **Klan-type** when referring to a similar type of organization or activity (*When Hate Groups Come to Town*)

Leaderless Resistance — the notion of "leaderless resistance" emphasizes the formation of small units of terrorists that can avoid detection and penetration by authorities, strike quickly and disperse, and safeguard, to some extent, the political leadership of the white supremacist movement, unlike more "mass-movement" based actions. Centralized decision making structures are replaced by diffuse education, with bomb-making manuals, assassination handbooks, and intelligence data on anti-racists serving as the curriculum available anonymously through mail order outfits and computer bulletin boards. Racists are encouraged to form their own one to five person units and choose their own targets without formal direction from recognized leaders in the movement. Neo-Nazis Tom Metzger and Louis Beam were the earliest, and strongest promoters of the strategy within the white supremacist movement.

Libertarian — the term originated in the 18th century to indicate a belief in free will as opposed to determinism; it has evolved in the 20th century to apply to the political philosophy advocating individual rights and limited government, opposed to group rights and centralized bureaucracy.

Lost Tribes of Israel — see British Israelism.

Militia — the volunteer armed forces of a state. In the United States, state militias were powerful groups of autonomous armed forces until 1916 when they were reorganized as the National Guard and made an auxiliary to the Armed Forces. Many extreme Second Amendment activists and Christian Patriot-types claim the right to form "organized" and "unorganized" militias because the National Guard, as a federalized auxiliary to the Armed Forces, is not a militia. Furthermore, these same activists claim that the Second Amendment guarantees them the right to form such militias (Jack C. Plano and Milton Greenberg, *The American Political Dictionary*. Fifth Edition. Holt, Rinehart and Winston 1979).

Millennium/Millenarianism — a thousand-year period of time. Born-again Christians differ as to whether Christ will "rule and reign" on earth for a millennium before or after the end times (*Spiritual Warfare*).

Miscegenation — cohabitation or marriage between people of different races.

Mobocracy — a Christian Patriot term used to criticize democracy and its "majority rule" component as based on mob mentality. Used to contrast democracy vs. an authentic "Republic" form of government. See also Democracy vs. Republic.

National Socialism — national socialism, a subset of fascism, is a political philosophy that is most notorious for having been the party ideology of Adolf Hitler's Nazis. National socialism combined an appeal to workers and the middle-classes, radical anti-capitalism (in its movement stage) together with political opportunism, anti-Marxist agitation and violence, and fierce ethnic nationalism, anti-Semitism and racism. Upon achieving state power, the doctrine of national socialism has proven to be genocidal, totalitarian and imperialist. National socialism claims to resolve the contradictions between capitol and labor, often through a "third way."

Nazi — refers to the organization, ideology and paraphernalia of the National Socialist German Workers Party (NSDAP) circa 1923-1945; to war criminals or others associated with that period in their current manifestation; and to the political forces that collaborated with the NSDAP during that period (*When Hate Groups Come to Town*).

Neo-conservative — describes a political movement of former liberals, primarily among intellectuals, who adopted and adapted conservative ideology in the 1970s and 1980s. Neo-conservatives differ from traditional conservatives in that they promote a strong role for state intervention in the economy, favor national

authority over "states rights" structures, and are interventionist rather than isolationist on international issues (*When Hate Groups Come to Town*).

Neo-Nazi — describes individuals or organizations whose ideology directly resembles or attempts to resemble that of the German Nazi Party or one of its factions.

New Right — denotes the popularly based right-wing political movement that came to prominence in the 1970s and 1980s. Includes secular forces, Christian Right and other elements of the Religious Right. Sometimes used to include neo-Conservatives. While the new Right is implicitly politically, socially and economically racist, they are not dominated by an ideology of genetic superiority of the white race (*When Hate Groups Come to Town*).

New World Order — a term used by President George Bush during the Persian Gulf war to describe the post-cold war geopolitical realignment of nations; Christian Patriots have interpreted the expression as confirmation of their belief in an age old conspiracy to establish a one world government and to take away the rights of white, Christian Americans.

Northwest Territorial Imperative —a strategy for the formation of a "Northwest Aryan Republic," usually occupying the five state area of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana and Wyoming. Canadian white supremacists have also promoted the concept of adjoining portions of Western Canada to the Aryan Republic. The late Bob Miles and Aryan Nations head Richard Butler are generally credited with having been initial formulators of the concept. Neo-Nazi David Duke promoted a version of the plan called the "White Bastion" in the early 1980s. Hate groups in the Pacific Northwest that currently support a version of this strategy include the Church of Jesus Christ Christian-Aryan Nations, the Northwest Concern, National Socialist Front, the National Socialist White People's Party, the Northwest Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and the American Front.

Oi — a musical form arising from punk music in the late 1970s adopted by the skinhead subculture (identified most often with neo-Nazi skinheads). The term Oi is Cockney meaning "Hey" and is not necessarily a racist term.

Order, The — a terrorist white supremacist organization founded by Robert Mathews in the early 1980s. Mathews was killed by Federal agents in Washington State in 1984. The Order was responsible for a murderous crime spree in the mid-1980s that included the assassination of a Jewish talk show host and a number of robberies netting millions of dollar most of which was never recovered.

Organic Constitution — Christian Patriot term for the original U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

Populism/Populist — in general, someone who sides with small scale and individual interests rather than large corporate or government interests; within the white supremacist movement populism refers to a specific set of political positions that are anti-federal, anti-civil rights and that incorporate the tenants of Christian Patriotism.

Posse Comitatus — the literal translation from the Latin phrase is "the power of the county." The implication is that able-bodied citizens of a county or district are able to come to the aid of legitimate authorities when called to do so.

Phineas Priesthood — a violent order that holds racist, anti-Semitic and homophobic murder to be the highest calling of God. Richard Kelly Hoskins' *Vigilantes of Christendom* provides a biblical justification for the Phineas Priesthood.

Prejudice — dislike or hatred directed against another on the basis of race, religion, sexual preference or ethnicity.

Race Mixing — see Miscegenation.

Race Traitor — a white supremacist concept applied to anyone who does not act to further their own race or to whites who oppose the goals of white supremacy.

Documenting a Decade of Hate

Racism/Racist — a more powerful term than prejudice referring to an individual or group or action based on emotional or cultural hatred for those unlike oneself based on perceived or actual racial or ethnic differences.

Racialism — a word used by white supremacists to connote white racial superiority and express white nationalism.

RaHoWa — a truncation of the term, "Racial Holy War." A term associated with the Church of the Creator.

Rapture — the event described in the book of revelations in which—according to some born-again Christians—all saved believers will be "caught up in the air" by Jesus Christ right before the earth is destroyed in the Battle of Armageddon (Spi*ritual Warfare*).

Ruby Ridge — see Weaver Siege.

Scapegoating — the act of blaming shortcomings or failure on innocent or at most only partly responsible individual or group.

Silent Brotherhood, The — See Order, The.

Skinhead — a youth subculture that first emerged in the late 1960s in Britain and experienced a re-emergence or revival in the late 1970s with a large segment adopting neo-Nazi politics along with the pre-existing aggressive, proletarian or working class symbolism. The skinhead style consists of close cropped hair (or a shaven head, hence the name, "skinhead"), suspenders, jeans, and heavy working boots. The style was adopted by some young people in the United States beginning in the mid-1980s. The term skinhead should be used in conjunction with a qualifier, "-anti-racist" or "-racist" (neo-Nazi) to recognizing the two distinct and conflicting political ideologies that co-exist within the broader subculture.

SPIKE — an acronym for Specially Prepared Individuals for Key Events, a paramilitary training program created and run by retired Lt. Col. James "Bo" Gritz, a former Green Beret and leader in the Christian Patriot movement. SPIKE trainings involve a series of one day "phases" in which participants are instructed in first aid, combat marksmanship, food preservation, weapon storage, communications and other survivalist skills.

Social Movement — the ongoing development of collective action by some significant portion of a social category which at some point involves violence toward persons or property of members of another category, and which leads to the disruption of the political and cultural reproduction of a society. Such movements may or may not lead to "revolutions" that mark a change in state power, but they always have implications far beyond the immediate goals and accomplishments of the organizations most closely associated with them. (Daniel Foss and Ralph Larkin, Beyond Revolution: A New Theory of Social Movements, [New York: Bergin and Garvey], 1987).

State's Rights —a continuum of political positions that generally favor the rights of individual states over federal jurisdiction. During the civil rights movement of the 1950s-1960s, states rights was a code word for opposition to desegregation and support for the maintenance of Jim Crow laws (segregation). State's rights are often promoted within the wise-use movement (See Wise Use) as a means for thwarting federal authority over the exploitation of natural resources, and by Christian Patriots to argue "State Citizenship" positions. (See Citizenship, State).

Strasserism — see Third Position.

Survivalism/Survivalist —the belief that a disaster of some type-global financial collapse, Armageddon, environmental destruction, nuclear war- is a certainty and that preparation for existence under the predictable difficult living circumstances that would result from such a disaster is a necessity. Survivalists may or may not be bigots; Christian Patriots tend to be the largest sub-section of white supremacists represented among survivalists.

Theonomy/Theonomic — government by

God, subject to God's authority. A Term used to describe Christian Reconstruction and some Christian Identity believers who wish to create a society based soley on Biblical principles, particularly Old Testament legalisms.

Third Position —a variant of fascist theory with origins in Europe that is generally considered radical within the broader neo-Nazi movement. Third position adherents often find common cause with third-world autocrats, such as Libyan General Muhammar Khaddafey, in order to further international opposition to the state of Israel and the development of an "Anti-Zionist Front." Third positionists are often at the forefront of fusing xenophobic and authoritarian positions with environmentalist causes, (such as reducing third world population to save the environment), (white) women's rights, and outreach to the left-wing based on opposition to Zionism or capitalism.

The Strasser brothers, Gregor and Otto, were two early influential leaders within the NSDAP (Nazi Party) that fought for a radical national socialism. The SA (*Sturmbeitelung*), the paramilitary organization that brought Hitler to power and that the Strassers headed up, was destroyed by Hitler's SS (*Stormschutzuffel*) after he achieved state power.

The term "Strasserism" is often used synonymously with "Third Position" to indicate an emphasis upon white workers as a vanguard of neo-Nazism as opposed to white people in general.

Tribulation — the seven-year period of time described in the Book of Revelations characterized by war, famine and general social chaos. Born-again Christians differ as to whether believers will have to experience all, part or none of the tribulation (*Spiritual Warfare*).

Warehouse Bank — financial schemes arranged by Patriots to obscure financial activity. Warehouse banks or "Community Exchanges" provide its members with the ability to buy and sell precious metals, write checks, satisfy payrolls and move large sums of cash with no paperwork for the government to trace.

Weaver Siege—the August 1992 Naples, Idaho shoot-out with Federal Marshals by Randy Weaver and Kevin Harris that resulted in the death of Weavers wife Vicky, his son Sam and United States Deputy Marshal William Degan. Government mismanagement of the shoot-out and siege on Weavers property on Ruby Ridge attracted a plethora of Christian Patriots, Populist Party supporters and skinheads and gave fuel to attempts by white supremacists to increase their legitimacy.

White Separatist — a euphemism for white supremacist. The label has been adopted by individuals and organizations in order to obscure or present a more benevolent facade to their belief in Jim Crow segregation and neo-Nazism. This term should not be used interchangeable with white supremacist.

White Supremacist— an individual, group or action embodying the ideological notion of biological, genetic, intellectual or other inherent superiority of whites over other population groups.

Wise Use Movement—a radical, anti-environmentalist movement that seeks to build grassroots support for resource industry (mining, timber, agricultural industry). The movement has a number of organizations scattered throughout the West, with headquarters in Washington state. Two movement intellectuals generally credited with initiating much of the strategy found throughout the wise-use movement are Ron Arnold and Alan Gottlieb of the Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise. Wise-use political strategy often relies upon local individuals who can gain control of local land-use planning boards, county commissions, etc.

ZOG — an acronym for Zionist Occupational Government, an anti-Semitic term referring to the federal government. The assertion embodied within the term is that United States federal authority is controlled by Jews.